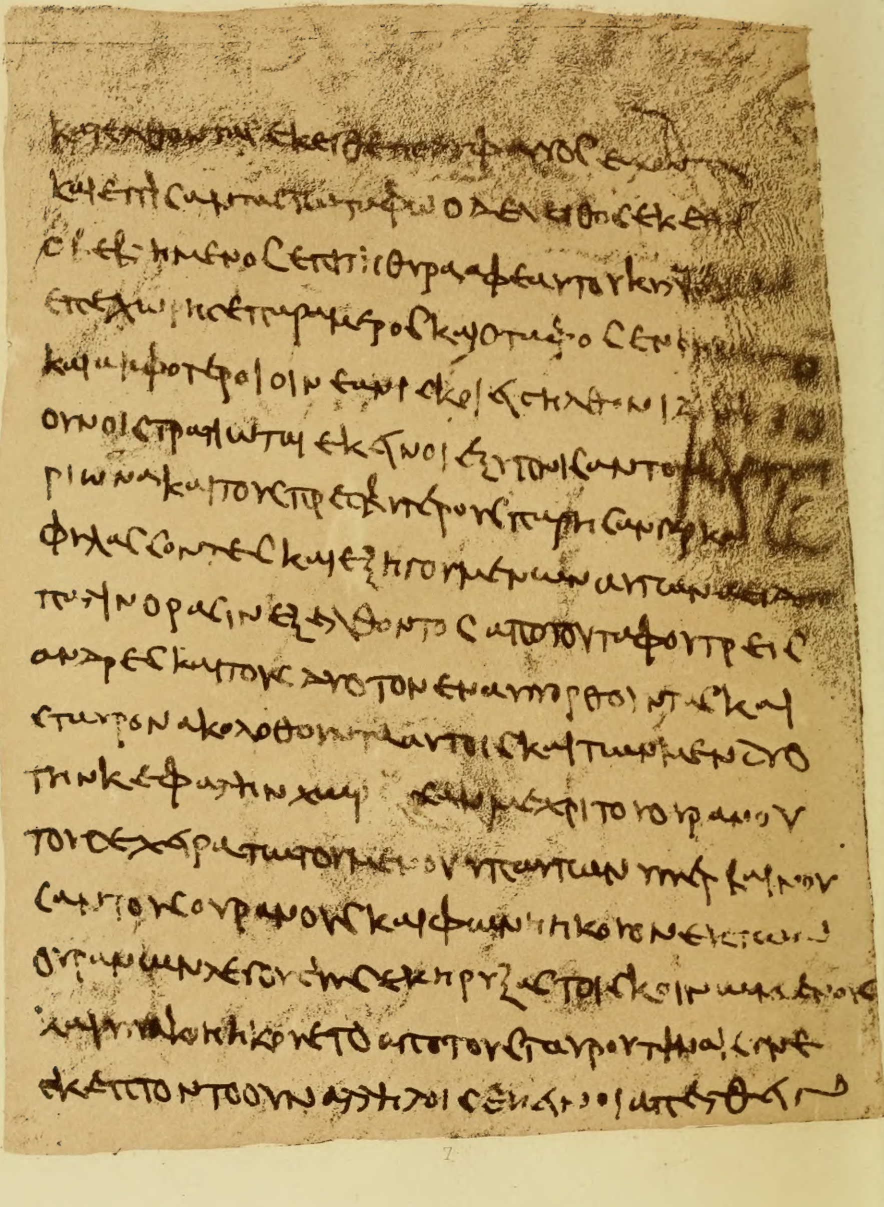
THE AKHMÎM FRAGMENT
OF THE
APOCRYPHAL GOSPEL
OF
ST. PETER

THE APOCRYPHAL GOSPEL OF ST PETER



και ενφανισαι ταυτα τω Πειλατω και ετι διανοουμε
νων αυτων φαινονται παλιν ανοιχθεντες οι ουρανοι
και ανθρωπος τις κατελθων και εισελθων εις το μνημα
ταυτα ιδοντες οι περι τον κεντυριωνα νυκτος εσπευσαν
προς Πειλατον αφεντες τον ταφον ον εφυλασσον και
εξηγησαντο παντα απερ ειδον αγωνιωντες μεγαλως
και λεγοντες αληθως υιος ην θεου αποκριθεις ο Πειλατος
εφη εγω καθαρευω του αιματος του υιου του θεου υμιν δε
τουτο εδοξεν ειτα προσελθοντες παντες εδεοντο αυτου
και παρεκαλουν κελευσαι τω κεντυριωνι και τοις στρατιω
ταις μηδεν ειπειν α ειδον συμφερει γαρ φασιν ημιν
οφλησαι μεγιστην αμαρτιαν εμπροσθεν του θεου
και μη εμπεσειν εις χειρας του λαου των Ιουδαιων
και λιθασθηναι εκελευσεν ουν ο Πειλατος τω κεν
τυριωνι και τοις στρατιωταις μηδεν ειπειν ορθρου δε
της κυριακης Μαριαμ η Μαγδαληνη μαθητρια του κυ
φοβουμενη δια τους Ιουδαιους επειδη εφλεγοντο

ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΕΤΡΟΝ

THE AKHMÎM FRAGMENT

OF THE

APOCRYPHAL GOSPEL OF ST PETER

EDITED

WITH AN INTRODUCTION NOTES AND INDICES

BY

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AT the end of November, 1892, shortly after the appearance of M. Bouriant's *editio princeps*, I published for the use of students a tentatively corrected text of the newly discovered fragment of the Petrine Gospel. This reprint was issued again in February, 1893, with some corrections obtained from the MS. through the kindness of the late Professor Bensly, whose recent death has brought upon all studies of this kind a loss which it is impossible to estimate. The text which I now offer to the public has been revised throughout by the aid of the heliographic reproduction of the MS. just published by M. Ernest Leroux of Paris. Through the courtesy of M. Leroux I am able to enrich my book with a specimen of this facsimile.

The Introduction and the notes which have been added to the text are based on lectures delivered in the Divinity School at Cambridge during the Lent Term of the present year. The results at which I have ventured to arrive were reached independently, but in preparing my materials for the press I have freely availed myself of all the literature upon the subject which has fallen into my hands. It is difficult to discriminate in all cases between details which have suggested themselves directly and those which have been gathered from other sources; but I have endeavoured to acknowledge, in passing, the most important of the debts of which I am conscious.

The suggestive lecture of Professor J. Armitage Robinson, which appeared almost immediately after my reprint of M. Bouriant's text, and Professor A. Harnack's edition of the Petrine fragments, assisted me in the earlier part of my investigation; if I am less indebted to Professor Th. Zahn's *Evangelium des Petrus*, it is because nearly the whole of the following pages was in type before the publication of Dr Zahn's work. To Mr J. Rendel Harris, Reader in Palaeography at Cambridge, I owe not only many valuable suggestions during the progress of my book, but much kind assistance in the final correction of the proofs.

CAMBRIDGE,

May, 1893.

CONTENTS.

ὁ τῶν ἁπάντων τεχνίτης λόγος ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῶν χερουβὶμ
καὶ συνέχων τὰ πάντα, φανερωθεὶς τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἔδωκεν ἡμῖν
τετράμορφον τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, ἑνὶ δὲ πνεύματι συνεχόμενον.

INTRODUCTION.

I.

Eusebius[1] enumerates six works attributed to St Peter—two Epistles, a Gospel, an Apocalypse, a book of Acts, and a Preaching. He regards the first Epistle as undoubtedly genuine, the second as not definitely canonical; the rest of the Petrine writings are distinctly outside the Canon, and the Gospel is of heretical origin. His judgement is based on the general opinion of the Church. While the first Epistle was acknowledged on all hands and the second was widely used, no Church writer had appealed to the Petrine Gospel, Acts, Preaching, or Apocalypse.

[1] *H. E.* iii. 3 Πέτρου μὲν οὖν ἐπιστολὴ μία ἡ λεγομένη αὐτοῦ προτέρα ἀνωμολόγηται . . τὴν δὲ φερομένην αὐτοῦ δευτέραν οὐκ ἐνδιάθηκον μὲν εἶναι παρειλήφαμεν, ὅμως δὲ πολλοῖς χρήσιμος φανεῖσα μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐσπουδάσθη γραφῶν. τό γε μὴν τῶν ἐπικεκλημένων αὐτοῦ Πράξεων καὶ τὸ κατ' αὐτὸν ὠνομασμένον Εὐαγγέλιον, τό τε λεγόμενον αὐτοῦ Κήρυγμα καὶ τὴν καλουμένην Ἀποκάλυψιν, οὐδ' ὅλως ἐν καθολικοῖς ἴσμεν παραδεδομένα· ὅτι μήτε ἀρχαίων μήτε τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς τις ἐκκλησιαστικὸς συγγραφεὺς ταῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν συνεχρήσατο μαρτυρίαις. Comp. iii. 25 τῶν δὲ ἀντιλεγομένων γνωρίμων δ' οὖν ὅμως τοῖς πολλοῖς . . ἡ . . Πέτρου δευτέρα ἐπιστολή....ἐν τοῖς νόθοις κατατετάχθω . . ἡ ἀποκάλυψις Πέτρου... τὸν κατάλογον πεποιήμεθα . . ἵν' εἰδέναι ἔχοιμεν αὐτάς τε ταύτας [the canonical writings, and the *antilegomena*], καὶ τὰς ὀνόματι τῶν ἀποστόλων πρὸς τῶν αἱρετικῶν προφερομένας, ἤτοι ὡς Πέτρου καὶ Θωμᾶ καὶ Ματθία, ἢ καί τινων παρὰ τούτους ἄλλων εὐαγγέλια περιεχούσας . . ὧν οὐδὲν οὐδαμῶς ἐν συγγράμματι τῶν κατὰ τὰς διαδοχὰς ἐκκλησιαστικῶν τις ἀνὴρ εἰς μνήμην ἀγαγεῖν ἠξίωσεν. Jerome adds a seventh book, the 'Judgement'; in his estimate of the Petrine literature he follows Eusebius but treads with a firmer step: *de uirr. illustr.* i. Simon Petrus . . scripsit duas epistolas quae catholicae nominantur, quarum secunda a plerisque eius negatur propter stili cum priore dissonantiam. sed et Euangelium iuxta Marcum, qui auditor eius et interpres fuit, huius dicitur. libri autem e quibus unus Actorum eius inscribitur, alius Euangelii, tertius Praedicationis, quartus Ἀποκαλύψεως, quintus Iudicii, inter apocryphas scripturas repudiantur.

Of the Gospel, before the recovery of the Akhmîm fragment, not a single sentence was known to have survived. Origen indeed asserts that those who held the Brethren of the Lord to have been sons of Joseph by a first wife, based their theory upon either the Gospel of Peter or the "Book of James[1]." Beyond this precarious testimony the only reference to the Petrine Gospel by writers earlier than Eusebius is to be found in a fragment of Serapion preserved in another part of the *Ecclesiastical History*[2]. Serapion was eighth Bishop of Antioch, succeeding Maximinus and himself succeeded by Asclepiades[3]. It has been shewn by Bishop Lightfoot that Serapion's episcopate began between A.D. 189 and 192: the year of his death is less certain, but he seems to have been still living during the persecution of the Church by Septimius Severus (A.D. 202—3)[4]. On the whole his period of episcopal activity may safely be placed in the last decade of the second century. This Serapion had left a treatise relating to the Gospel of Peter from which Eusebius quotes a few sentences. It appears to have been a pastoral letter addressed to the clergy or people of Rhosus, consisting of a general criticism of the Gospel followed by extracts from it. The passage preserved by Eusebius explains the circumstances under which the letter was written. In the course of a visit to Rhosus the Bishop of Antioch learnt that some bitterness had arisen between members of the Church upon the question of the public use of the Gospel of Peter. He glanced over its pages, and not suspecting the existence of any heretical tendency at Rhosus, authorised the reading of the book. After his departure information reached him

[1] *Comm. in Matt.* t. x. 17. τοὺς δὲ ἀδελφοὺς Ἰησοῦ φασί τινες εἶναι, ἐκ παραδόσεως ὁρμώμενοι τοῦ ἐπιγεγραμμένου Κατὰ Πέτρον εὐαγγελίου, ἢ τῆς βίβλου Ἰακώβου, υἱοὺς Ἰωσὴφ ἐκ προτέρας γυναικὸς συνῳκηκυίας αὐτῷ πρὸ τῆς Μαρίας.

[2] *H. E.* vi. 12 ἡμεῖς γάρ, ἀδελφοί, καὶ Πέτρον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀποστόλους ἀποδεχόμεθα ὡς Χριστόν· τὰ δὲ ὀνόματι αὐτῶν ψευδεπίγραφα ὡς ἔμπειροι παραιτούμεθα, γινώσκοντες ὅτι τὰ τοιαῦτα οὐ παρελάβομεν. ἐγὼ γὰρ γενόμενος παρ' ὑμῖν ὑπενόουν τοὺς πάντας ὀρθῇ πίστει προσφέρεσθαι· καὶ μὴ διελθὼν τὸ ὑπ' αὐτῶν προφερόμενον ὀνόματι Πέτρου εὐαγγέλιον, εἶπον ὅτι Εἰ τοῦτό ἐστι μόνον τὸ δοκοῦν ὑμῖν παρέχειν μικροψυχίαν, ἀναγινωσκέσθω. νῦν δὲ μαθὼν ὅτι αἱρέσει τινὶ ὁ νοῦς αὐτῶν ἐνεφώλευεν ἐκ τῶν λεχθέντων μοι, σπουδάσω πάλιν γενέσθαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς· ὥστε, ἀδελφοί, προσδοκᾶτέ με ἐν τάχει. ἡμεῖς (*fort. leg.* ὑμεῖς) δέ, ἀδελφοί, καταλαβόμενοι ὁποίας ἦν αἱρέσεως ὁ Μαρκιανός, καὶ ἑαυτῷ ἠναντιοῦτο μὴ νοῶν ἃ ἐλάλει, ἃ μαθήσεσθε (*fort. leg.* ὡς καὶ ἑαυτῷ ἠναντ. μὴ ν. ἃ ἐλάλει, μαθήσεσθε) ἐξ ὧν ὑμῖν ἐγράφη· ἐδυνήθημεν γὰρ παρ' ἄλλων τῶν ἀσκησάντων αὐτὸ τοῦτο εὐαγγέλιον, τουτέστι παρὰ τῶν διαδόχων τῶν καταρξαμένων αὐτοῦ, οὓς Δοκητὰς καλοῦμεν—τὰ γὰρ πλείονα φρονήματα ἐκείνων ἐστὶ τῆς διδασκαλίας—χρησάμενοι παρ' αὐτῶν διελθεῖν, καὶ εὑρεῖν τὰ μὲν πλείονα τοῦ ὀρθοῦ λόγου τοῦ Σωτῆρος, τινὰ δὲ προσδιεσταλμένα, ἃ καὶ ὑπετάξαμεν ὑμῖν.

[3] *H. E.* v. 19, 22, vi. 18.

[4] *Ignatius*, ii. p. 459 ff.

which threw a new light upon the matter and determined him to visit Rhosus again without delay. He had learnt that the Gospel had originated among a party known to Catholic Christians as the *Docetae*, and was still in use among that party, who appear to have been led at Rhosus by one Marcianus[1]; and on procuring a copy of the Gospel from other members of the party and examining it in detail, he had found that the book, although generally sound, contained certain accretions of another character, specimens of which he proceeded to give.

Rhosus was at a later date one of the sees of Cilicia Secunda[2]; a Bishop of Rhosus signed the synodical letter of the Council of Antioch in A.D. 363[3]. At the end of the second century the town probably had no Bishop of its own; in any case it was under the authority of the great neighbouring see of Antioch, whose later patriarchal jurisdiction included both Cilicias[4]. Rhosus stood just inside the bay of Issus (the modern Gulf of Iskenderun); to the south-west, fifty miles off, lay the extremity of the long arm of Cyprus; Antioch was not above thirty miles to the south east, but lofty hills, a continuation of the range of Amanus, prevented direct communication with the capital. It was in this obscure dependency of the great Syrian see that the Petrine Gospel first attracted notice. To Serapion it was clearly unknown till he saw it at Rhosus. Yet Serapion was not only Bishop of the most important see in the East, but a man of considerable activity in letters, and a controversialist[5]. It is natural to infer that the circulation of the Gospel before A.D. 190 was very limited, and probably confined to the party from which it emanated. Even at Rhosus an attempt to use it as a Church book had provoked opposition. When Serapion wished to procure a copy, he succeeded in doing so only through the favour or indiscretion of some who belonged to the party. All this points to a narrow sphere of influence, and Serapion's censure would assuredly have checked the use of the book in the diocese of Antioch. This inference is confirmed by the extreme scantiness of subsequent references to the Petrine Gospel. It is mentioned by only four writers in the next three centuries, and no personal knowledge of the book is implied in their notices. The testimony of Origen, Eusebius, and Jerome has been quoted already. Theodoret must be added to them, but his statement that the Gospel according to Peter was used by the Nazarenes is hard to reconcile with Serapion's first-hand account of its tendencies[6]. There

[1] The Armenian version gives *Marcion* (Robinson, p. 14), but the change has little inherent probability.

[2] Ramsay, *Asia Minor*, p. 386.

[3] Socr. iii. 25. Mansi, iii. 372.

[4] Neale, *Holy Eastern Church*, i. 1. 6.

[5] *H. E.* v. 19, vi. 12.

[6] Theodoret. *haer. fabb.* ii. 2 οἱ δὲ Να-

is a yet greater dearth of evidence in the ancient catalogues of Biblical writings. Even those among them which include certain apocryphal books are with one exception silent as to the Petrine Gospel. The Petrine Apocalypse finds honourable mention in the Muratorian fragment and in three other lists; the Gospel is mentioned only in the *notitia librorum apocryphorum* attached to the Gelasian *Decretum de libris recipiendis et non recipiendis*[1]. This document was first attributed to Gelasius by Hincmar of Rheims, and though it probably contains older elements, in its present form it cannot be placed earlier than the eighth or ninth century; whether its reference to the Gospel of Peter is to be traced to the words of Jerome, or points to the circulation of a Latin version in Western Europe at the beginning of the middle ages, must for the present remain uncertain. The latter alternative is not impossible. The Manicheans of Africa and the West prided themselves on the possession of numerous *apocrypha*, some of which appear to have belonged to the Petrine group[2].

There is no reason to doubt that the Akhmîm fragment was rightly assigned by M. Bouriant to the lost Gospel of Peter. It claims to belong to a personal narrative by that Apostle, and it formed, so far as we can judge, a part of a complete Gospel and not merely of a history of the Passion, for it assumes an acquaintance on the part of its readers with such circumstances as the choice of the Twelve, the names and occupation of two of them, and their connexion with Galilee. Its tendency is, moreover, in harmony with Serapion's account of the Petrine Gospel. Our Lord is invariably called ὁ κύριος or ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ. He undergoes Crucifixion without suffering pain; His risen Body assumes supernatural proportions. These and other particulars are at least consistent with a Docetic origin; yet our fragment is orthodox in its general tone, as Serapion admits the Docetic Gospel

ζωραῖοι Ἰουδαῖοί εἰσι τὸν Χριστὸν τιμῶντες ὡς ἄνθρωπον δίκαιον καὶ τῷ καλουμένῳ Κατὰ Πέτρον εὐαγγελίῳ κεχρημένοι. According to Epiphanius (xxix. 9) the Nazarenes used the Hebrew 'Matthew' (ἔχουσι δὲ τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον εὐαγγέλιον πληρέστατον Ἑβραϊστί). Eusebius says of the Ebionites (*H. E.* iii. 27) εὐαγγελίῳ δὲ μόνῳ τῷ καθ' Ἑβραίους λεγομένῳ χρώμενοι τῶν λοιπῶν σμικρὸν ἐποιοῦντο λόγον. If the Nazarenes really circulated the Petrine Gospel, the fact was possibly due to its anti-Judaic tone; cf. Epiph. l. c. πάνυ δὲ οὗτοι ἐχθροὶ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ὑπάρχουσιν.

[1] Migne, *P. L.* lix.

[2] Comp. Philastr. *haer.* 88 habent Manichaei apocrypha beati Andreae apostoli . . et alii tales Andreae beati et Ioannis Actus euangelistae, beati et Petri similiter apostoli: Aug. *c. Faust.* xxx. 4, where Faustus says, Mitto enim ceteros eiusdem domini nostri apostolos Petrum et Andream, Thomam et . . Ioannem...sed hos quidem ut dixi praetereo quia eos uos exclusistis ex canone.

to have been. Lastly, it bears internal evidence of belonging to a work of the second century. Its style and character resemble those of other second century *apocrypha*, and it has a note of comparative simplicity and sobriety which is wanting in apocryphal writings of a later date.

II.

We may now proceed to examine the contents of the fragment. It covers a portion of the Gospel history roughly corresponding to Matt. XXVII. 24—XXVIII. 15 = Mark XV. 15—XVI. 8 = Luke XXIII. 24—XXIV. 10 = John XIX. 13—XX. 12. A superficial comparison shews that the Petrine account is considerably the longest of the five, and exceeds by about one fourth the average length of the four canonical narratives.

In what relation does this new and longest history of the Passion stand to the Four Gospels? For minute details the reader is referred to the notes attached to the text; for the present it will be necessary only to point out the general results.

1. The Petrine Passion-history relates a large number of circumstances which are not to be found in any canonical Gospel. The following are the most important of the new incidents.

(*a*) Herod and the Jewish judges of the Lord abstain from washing their hands after Pilate's example.

(*b*) The order for the Crucifixion is given by Herod.

(*c*) At this juncture Joseph, who is a friend of Pilate, seeks permission to bury the Body and is referred by Pilate to Herod. Herod replies that the Body would in any case be buried before sunset, in accordance with the Jewish law.

(*d*) Herod then delivers the Lord to the people, who push Him before them exclaiming, *Let us hale the Son of God.* They set Him on a seat of Judgement saying, *Judge righteously, thou King of Israel.* Some prick Him with a reed; others scourge Him saying, *Thus let us honour the Son of God.*

(*e*) At the moment of crucifixion He is silent, as free from pain.

(*f*) The Cross is erected, the garments are spread on the ground beneath it.

(*g*) The censure of the penitent malefactor is turned upon the crucifiers, who revenge themselves by directing that his legs shall not be broken, with the view of prolonging his sufferings.

(*h*) The Jews regard the darkness which envelopes Judaea at noonday as indicating that the sun has already set, and carry lamps as in the night; some of them fall.

(*i*) At this point they offer the Lord gall mingled with vinegar, apparently for the purpose of hastening His Death.

(*j*) The Lord is taken up after uttering the loud cry *My Power, My Power, thou hast forsaken Me.*

(*k*) The nails are drawn forth from the Hands, and the Body is laid on the earth. The earthquake ensues; the sun then shines out again, and it is found to be the ninth hour.

(*l*) The Jews in their joy give the Body to Joseph, who washes it. The tomb in which it is laid is known as 'Joseph's Garden.'

(*m*) Presently the joy is turned into general mourning. The people beat their breasts exclaiming *He was righteous;* their leaders cry *Woe to our sins!* the disciples, suspected of designs upon the Temple, seek a place of concealment. Meanwhile they keep up their fast until the Sabbath.

(*n*) With the assistance of a military guard under the command of the centurion Petronius, the Jewish leaders roll a stone to the door of the tomb. Seven seals are placed on the stone, and a tent is set up close at hand for the use of the watch. On the Sabbath morning the sealed stone is inspected by a crowd of visitors from Jerusalem and the suburbs.

(*o*) The next night, while two of the watch are on guard, a great voice is heard in heaven; the heavens are opened and two young men descend, clothed in light, and approach the tomb. The stone moves aside, and the two enter. Presently the centurion and the Jewish elders, who have been awakened by the watch, see three men of supernatural height issue from the tomb; one of the three, whose head reaches above the heavens, being supported or led by the other two. The three are followed by a Cross, and from it comes an answer of assent to a second voice from heaven which says, *Thou didst preach to them that sleep.* The second voice is succeeded by a second opening of the heavens, and another human form descends and enters the tomb.

(*p*) The Jews upon this hasten to Pilate and confess, *Truly this was the Son of God.* Pilate retorts, *I am clean...the sentence was yours.* At the earnest desire of the Jews he binds the watch to secrecy.

(*q*) The women, hitherto prevented by fear of the Jews, hasten at daybreak on Sunday to offer their last tribute at the tomb. Their conversation on the way is reported at some length. On arriving and finding the door open, they see a young man sitting in the middle of the tomb who says, *He is gone to the place from whence He was sent.*

(*r*) The last day of the Feast having arrived, many are returning home, and among them the Twelve, who are still mourning for the Lord. Simon Peter and Andrew take their nets and go to the Sea, accompanied by Levi.

It is evident that the new incidents recited above rest upon the basis of a story which is in the main identical with that of the canonical Gospels. They presuppose (e.g.) the intervention of the Jewish leaders, of Herod, and of Pilate in the trial of the Lord, the Mockery, the Crucifixion, the Three Hours' Darkness, the Burial in the garden-tomb, the descent of Angels, the Resurrection (in whatever sense), the visit of the women to the tomb, the departure of certain of the disciples to Galilee. A careful study will shew that even details which seem to be entirely new, or which directly contradict the canonical narrative, may have been suggested by it; see e.g. (*c*), (*e*), (*g*), (*m*), (*q*). At other points we can detect the influence of the Old Testament ((*d*), (*h*), (*n*)), of New Testament books other than the Gospels ((*b*), (*l*), (*o*)), and of hymns or other liturgical forms ((*j*), (*o*)). It is worthy of especial remark that the fragment does not yield a single *agraphon*, for the saying in (*j*) is clearly based on the Fourth Word from the Cross. Nor are there any certain indications of an independent tradition in the circumstantial treatment of the history. Thus notwithstanding the large amount of new matter which it contains, there is nothing in this portion of the Petrine Gospel which compels us to assume the use of historical sources other than the canonical Gospels.

2. The Petrine Passion-history on the other hand omits many important details which are related by one or more of the Four Gospels. The following are the principal of these omissions; after each will be found a reference to the Evangelist or Evangelists to whom we owe our knowledge.

(*a*) The mockers do homage to the Lord, saying *Hail, King of the Jews* (Mt., Mk.).

(*b*) The Lord goes forth bearing His Cross (J.).

(*c*) It is subsequently laid on Simon of Cyrene (Mt., Mk., L.).

(*d*) The women follow with lamentations (L.).

(*e*) The Crucifixion takes place at the third hour (Mk.).

(*f*) The Lord refuses the first potion offered Him (Mt., Mk.).

(*g*) The First Word from the Cross (L.).

(*h*) Pilate refuses to change the superscription (J.).

(*i*) Lots are cast for the χιτών only (J.).

(*j*) The Crucified is mocked by the passers by and the Priests (Mt., Mk., L.). He is reviled at first by both the malefactors (Mt., Mk.).

(*k*) The Second Word (L.).

(*l*) The Third Word (J.).

(*m*) The cry *Eli* is mistaken for a call for Elias (Mt., Mk.).

(*n*) A sponge full of vinegar is put to the Lord's lips (Mt., Mk.).

(*o*) The Fifth Word (J.).

(*p*) The Sixth Word (J.).

(*q*) The Seventh Word (L.).

(*r*) Many of the dead come forth from their graves (Mt.).

(*s*) The centurion at the Cross confesses the divinity (Mt., Mk.) or the innocence (L.) of the Sufferer.

(*t*) The Lord's Side is pierced (J.).

(*u*) Nicodemus takes part in the Burial (J.).

(*x*) The women witness the Burial, and return to keep the Sabbath (L., J.).

(*y*) An earthquake attends the descent of the Angel (Mt.).

(*z*) The Angel announces, *He goeth before you into Galilee* (Mt., Mk.).

(a_1) The women carry tidings to the Apostles (Mt., L.).

(b_1) The tomb is visited by St Peter (L.), and St John (J.).

To this list of omissions should probably be added the appearances of the Risen Christ on Easter Day and on the first Sunday after Easter. But to deal with those which are beyond dispute, it may be observed that of twenty-seven only three belong to the common tradition of the Synoptists, whilst not a single circumstance which is related by both the Synoptists and St John has been altogether ignored in the Petrine narrative. On the other hand sixteen of the omissions occur in the case of details recorded by one Evangelist only (J., 9; L., 4; Mt., 2; Mk., 1).

3. Let us next compare the five accounts with the view of discovering how much our fragment has in common with the canonical Gospels. The following are the common facts.

(*a*) Pilate washes his hands (Mt.).

(*b*) Herod participates in the trial of the Lord (L.).

(*c*) The Lord is delivered over to the people (J.).

(*d*) He is attired in purple, crowned with thorns, spat upon, buffeted (Mt., Mk., J.).

(*e*) He is crucified between two malefactors (Mt., Mk., L., J.).

(*f*) He is silent (Mt., Mk., L., but under other circumstances).

(*g*) A superscription is placed on the Cross (Mt., Mk., L., J.).

(*h*) The Lord's garments are divided (Mt., Mk., L., J.).

(*i*) One of the malefactors acknowledges His innocence (L.).

(*j*) There is darkness from noon to 3 p.m. (Mt., Mk., L.).

(*k*) A potion is administered to the Lord shortly before His death (Mt., Mk., J.).

(*l*) The Fourth Word from the Cross (Mt., Mk.).

(*m*) The veil of the Temple is rent (Mt., Mk., L.).

(*n*) An earthquake follows the Lord's Death (Mt.).

(*o*) He is buried by Joseph (Mt., Mk., L., J.) in a garden (J.).

(*p*) The spectators are seized with remorse (L.).

(*q*) The Jewish leaders request Pilate to set a watch at the tomb (Mt.).

(*r*) A great stone is rolled to the mouth of the tomb (Mt., Mk.).

(*s*) Two Angels descend (L., J.).

(*t*) One Angel descends (Mt., Mk.).

(*u*) Mary Magdalene and other women visit the tomb early on Easter Day, and learn from an Angel that He is risen (Mt., Mk., L.).

(*x*) Some of the Disciples depart to Galilee and return to their fishing ([Mt., Mk.], J.).

An analysis of this common matter will shew that of twenty-two points which the Petrine fragment shares with one or more of the canonical Gospels, four are to be found in all the Gospels, seven in three out of the four, three more are in both St Matthew and St Mark, three are in St Matthew only and three in St Luke only. Comparing

these results with those obtained under the head of omissions (p. xvi.), we gather that the Petrine narrative largely embodies the common matter of the canonical Gospels, agreeing with the Synoptists in eight particulars, and omitting only three which they all relate; and further, that it has distinct points of coincidence with the combined witness of the First and Second Gospels, and with the separate witness of the First Gospel and of the Third. There are only two or three incidents in the fragment which directly suggest acquaintance with the narrative of the Fourth Gospel, although, as we shall presently see, there are isolated expressions which render such an acquaintance probable.

4. We may now proceed to a verbal comparison.

Does the new fragment betray such a dependence upon the words of the canonical Gospels as to justify the belief that they were before the Petrine writer? The writer, it is clear, is not a mere compiler or harmonist; usually he appears to avoid the precise words of the canonical narrative, and when he comes nearest to them, it is his habit to change the order of the events, or to break the sequence by the intrusion of phraseology foreign to the writers of the New Testament. His narrative is *ex hypothesi* original, for it is attributed to St Peter; and he could not consistently with this assumption have borrowed the exact words of any existing Gospel. But this consideration adds weight to any verbal coincidences which may reveal themselves. Such coincidences exist, and the following deserve especial attention:

(*a*) ἀπενίψατο τὰς χεῖρας (Mt.).	ἐνίψατο τὰς χεῖρας (P.).
(*b*) προσελθὼν τῷ Πειλάτῳ ᾐτήσατο τὸ σῶμα (Mt., L.; cf. Mk.).	ἦλθεν πρὸς τὸν Πειλᾶτον καὶ ᾔτησε τὸ σῶμα (P.).
(*c*) τὸ καταπέτασμα τοῦ ναοῦ ἐσχίσθη εἰς δύο (Mt., Mk.; cf. L.).	διεράγη τὸ καταπέτασμα τοῦ ναοῦ.. εἰς δύο (P.).
(*d*) ἐνείλησεν τῇ σινδόνι (Mk.).	εἴλησε σινδόνι (P.).
(*e*) πενθοῦσι καὶ κλαίουσιν ('Mk.').	πενθοῦντες καὶ κλαίοντες (P.).
(*f*) συνήχθησαν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι πρὸς Πειλᾶτον (Mt.).	συναχθέντες δὲ οἱ γραμματεῖς καὶ Φαρισαῖοι καὶ πρεσβύτεροι πρὸς ἀλλήλους...ἦλθον πρὸς Πειλᾶτον (P.).
(*g*) μή ποτε ἐλθόντες οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ κλέψωσιν αὐτόν (Mt.).	μή ποτε ἐλθόντες οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ κλέψωσιν αὐτόν (P.).
(*h*) τίς ἀποκυλίσει ἡμῖν τὸν λίθον ἐκ τῆς θύρας τοῦ μνημείου;...ἦν γὰρ μέγας σφόδρα (Mk.).	τίς δὲ ἀποκυλίσει ἡμῖν καὶ τὸν λίθον τὸν τεθέντα ἐπὶ τῆς θύρας τοῦ μνημείου;...μέγας γὰρ ἦν ὁ λίθος (P.).

It can scarcely be doubtful that these coincidences imply the use of the First and Second Gospels, and the conclusion is confirmed by a host of minuter correspondences which will be found in the footnotes; that many of these are scattered through contexts otherwise widely at issue with the canonical texts, serves only to add strength to the conviction. In the case of the Third Gospel the parallels are not so complete, yet they are sufficiently close to create a strong presumption in favour of its use; compare e.g.:

(*a*) σάββατον ἐπέφωσκεν (L.).	σάββατον ἐπιφώσκει (P.).
(*b*) ἤγοντο δὲ καὶ ἕτεροι κακοῦργοι δύο (L.).	καὶ ἤνεγκον δύο κακούργους (P.).
(*c*) εἷς δὲ τῶν κρεμασθέντων κακούργων (L.).	εἷς δέ τις τῶν κακούργων ἐκείνων (P.).
(*d*) Woe to us.. because of our sins (L., Syr^{curet}).	οὐαὶ ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ἡμῶν (P.).
(*e*) πάντες οἱ...ὄχλοι...τύπτοντες τὰ στήθη ὑπέστρεφον (L.).	ὁ λαὸς ἅπας.. κόπτεται τὰ στήθη (P.).
(*f*) ὄντως ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὗτος δίκαιος ἦν (L.).	ἴδετε ὅτι πόσον δίκαιός ἐστιν (P.).
(*g*) τῇ δὲ μιᾷ τοῦ σαββάτου ὄρθρου βαθέως ἐπὶ τὸ μνῆμα ἦλθαν (L.).	ὄρθρου δὲ τῆς κυριακῆς...ἦλθε ἐπὶ τὸ μνημεῖον (P.).

Let us next compare the Petrine fragment with the Fourth Gospel. Here the traces of verbal indebtedness are fainter, yet the following occur:

(*a*) παρέδωκεν αὐτὸν αὐτοῖς (J.).	παρέδωκεν αὐτὸν τῷ λαῷ (P.).
(*b*) ἡ ἑορτὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων (J.).	τῆς ἑορτῆς αὐτῶν (P.).
(*c*) οὐκ εἶχες ἐξουσίαν κατ' ἐμοῦ (J.).	ἐξουσίαν αὐτοῦ ἐσχηκότες (P.).
(*d*) ἐκάθισεν ἐπὶ βήματος (J.).	ἐκάθισεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ καθέδραν κρίσεως (P.).
(*e*) ἐμαστίγωσεν (J.).	ἐμάστιζον (P.).
(*f*) λάχωμεν περὶ αὐτοῦ (J.).	λαχμὸν ἔβαλον ἐπ' αὐτοῖς (P.).
(*g*) κατέαξαν τὰ σκέλη (J.).	ἵνα μὴ σκελοκοπηθῇ (P.).
(*h*) ἵνα τελειωθῇ ἡ γραφή...τετέλεσται...ἵνα ἡ γραφὴ πληρωθῇ (J.).	ἐπλήρωσαν πάντα, καὶ ἐτελείωσαν... (P.).
(*i*) ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτοῦ τὸν τύπον τῶν ἥλων (J.).	ἀπέσπασαν τοὺς ἥλους ἀπὸ τῶν χειρῶν (P.).
(*j*) ἦν δὲ ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ὅπου ἐσταυρώθη κῆπος καὶ ἐν τῷ κήπῳ μνημεῖον (J.).	τάφον καλούμενον Κῆπον Ἰωσήφ (P.).

(*k*) ὁ κόσμος χαρήσεται (J.).	ἐχάρησαν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι (P.).
(*l*) ἐπέχρισέν μου τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς (J.).	ἐπέχρισαν ἑπτὰ σφραγῖδας (P.).
(*m*) διὰ τὸν φόβον τῶν Ἰουδαίων (J.).	φοβουμένη διὰ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους (P.).
(*n*) τίνα ζητεῖς; (J.).	τίνα ζητεῖτε; (P.).
(*o*) παρακύψας βλέπει (J.).	παρέκυψαν...παρακύψατε (P.).
(*p*) εἷς τῶν δώδεκα (J.).	οἱ δώδεκα (P.).
(*q*) ἐπορεύθησαν ἕκαστος εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ ('J.').	ἕκαστος...ἀπηλλάγη εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ (P.).
(*r*) ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης (J.).	εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν (P.).

If none of these parallels is by itself convincing, yet their cumulative force is considerable. It may be admitted that the Petrine writer does not shew as much familiarity with the Fourth Gospel as with the Second, or even with the Third; or perhaps it would be more exact to say that he has for whatever reason availed himself more freely of the Synoptic Gospels than of St John. But that he had access to St John is at least probable, not merely on the ground of the verbal resemblances, but because at several points the Petrine story presupposes the Johannine order or characteristic features of the Johannine narrative. Thus in Peter as in St John the events at the Cross begin in this order: (1) the crucifixion between the two malefactors, (2) the setting up of the title, (3) the parting of the clothes, the relative order in Mt., Mk., being (3) (2) (1), and in L., (1) (3) (2) (Lods, p. 20). Still more remarkable is Peter's adoption of St John's view as to the relation of the Passion to the first day of Unleavened Bread. Lastly, the references in Peter to the burial of the Crucified before the Sabbath, the *Crurifragium*, the garden-tomb, the fear of the Jews which seized the disciples after the Passion, and the departure of some of the disciples to the Sea of Galilee for the purpose of fishing, may most naturally be regarded as depending upon statements by St John, which they distort or contradict.

Our investigation has thus far established a strong probability that in one form or another the canonical Gospels were known to the Petrine writer; a probability which approaches to a certainty in the case of the Second Gospel, possibly also of the First and of the Third, and which even in the case of the Fourth Gospel is sufficient to justify assent.

III.

But assuming this use of the Gospels, it is still open to consideration whether they were employed as separate documents or in a harmonised form. In order to get an answer to the question, let us in the first

place see whether all the points which the Petrine fragment has in common with one or more of the canonical Gospels are to be found in the only second century Harmony that has survived. If we take the points as they have been already enumerated (p. xvii.), and compare them with the Arabic version of Tatian's Diatessaron, the results may be tabulated as follows:

(*a*) In T. (after *d*).
(*b*) In T.
(*c*) In T. (after *a*).
(*d*) In T.
(*e*) In T. from L.
(*f*) In T. from Mt.
(*g*) In T. from J.
(*h*) In T. from J. (after *q*).
(*i*) In T.
(*j*) In T. from Mt., L.
(*k*) In T. from Mt., Mk., J. (after *l*).
(*l*) In T. from Mk.
(*m*) In T. from Mt.
(*n*) In T.
(*o*) In T. from L., J., L., Mk., Mt., Mk., J.
(*p*) In T. (before *o*).
(*q*) In T.
(*r*) In T. from Mt.
(*s*) In T. from L., J. (after *t* and *u*).
(*t*) In T. from Mt., L., Mk., Mt.
(*u*) In T. from Mt.
(*x*) In T. from [Mt., Mk.,] J.

Thus it appears that the Diatessaron, as represented in the Arabic, although it does not exhaust the canonical materials, might have furnished the writer of our fragment with all the incidents which he shares with any of the Four Gospels. The order in Peter is not always the same as it seems to have been in Tatian, but differences of order may be disregarded in our enquiry, since they are equally embarrassing if we assume that the writer had recourse to the Gospels as separate books.

We may next proceed to compare the Diatessaron with our fragment more minutely, with the view of ascertaining whether Tatian would have provided the Petrine writer with the *words* which he seems to have adopted from the Four Gospels. We will place side by side with the Petrine narrative in certain crucial passages the corresponding portions of the Diatessaron, approximately represented in Greek[1]. I select the accounts of the Mockery, the Three Hours, the Burial, and the Visit of the women to the Tomb.

A. The Mockery.

Tatian.	Peter.
καὶ ἱμάτιον πορφυροῦν περιέβαλον αὐτόν, καὶ πλέξαντες στέφανον ἐξ ἀκανθῶν (*infra*, τὸν ἀκάνθινον στέφανον) ἐπέθηκαν αὐτοῦ τῇ κεφαλῇ (J.)[2], καὶ κάλαμον ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ αὐτοῦ ...καὶ ἐμπτύσαντες εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ (xxvi. 67)[3] ἔλαβον τὸν κάλαμον...καὶ ἔτυπτον εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ (Mt.), καὶ ἐδίδοσαν αὐτῷ ῥαπίσματα (J.).	καὶ πορφύραν αὐτὸν περιέβαλλον...καί τις αὐτῶν ἐνεγκὼν στέφανον ἀκάνθινον ἔθηκεν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ κυρίου· καὶ ἕτεροι ἑστῶτες ἐνέπτυον αὐτοῦ ταῖς ὄψεσι, καὶ ἄλλοι τὰς σιαγόνας αὐτοῦ ἐράπισαν· ἕτεροι καλάμῳ ἔνυσσον αὐτόν, καί τινες αὐτὸν ἐμάστιζον.

B. The Three Hours.

Tatian.	Peter.
ἀπὸ δὲ ἕκτης ὥρας σκότος ἐγένετο ἐπὶ [*tenebrae occupaverunt*] πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἕως ὥρας ἐνάτης (Mt.), τοῦ ἡλίου ἐκλείποντος (L.). καὶ τῇ ἐνάτῃ ὥρᾳ ἐβόησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς φωνῇ μεγάλῃ Ἠλεὶ ἠλεὶ [*Jaiil, Jaiili*][4], λαμὰ σαβαχθανεί· ὅ ἐστιν μεθερμηνευόμενον Ὁ θεός μου ὁ θεός μου, εἰς τί ἐγκατέλιπές με; (Mk.)...μετὰ τοῦτο εἰδὼς ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὅτι ἤδη πάντα	ἦν δὲ μεσημβρία, καὶ σκότος κατέσχε πᾶσαν τὴν Ἰουδαίαν· καὶ ἐθορυβοῦντο καὶ ἠγωνίων μή ποτε ὁ ἥλιος ἔδυ...καί τις αὐτῶν εἶπεν Ποτίσατε αὐτὸν χολὴν μετὰ ὄξους [cf. T., *supra*]...καὶ ἐπλήρωσαν πάντα, καὶ ἐτελείωσαν...καὶ ὁ κύριος ἀνεβόησε λέγων Ἡ δύναμίς μου, ἡ δύναμις, κατέλειψάς με...καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς ὥρας διεράγη τὸ

[1] The plan adopted has been to substitute for Ciasca's translation of the Arabic Tatian the corresponding portions of the canonical Gospels. The text has been determined by a comparison of Ciasca's Latin with Moesinger's *Evangelii Concordantis expositio* and the Curetonian Syriac of Luke xxiii., xxiv. It claims of course only to be an approximate and provisional representation of the text of the original work.

[2] The order is that of Mt.; so in Ephraim (Moesinger, p. 239).

[3] So Ephraim in this context: "et spuerunt in faciem eius" (p. 239).

[4] Ephraim: "Eli Eli, quare me dereliquisti?"

τετέλεσται, ἵνα τελειωθῇ ἡ γραφὴ λέγει Διψῶ...ὅτε οὖν ἔλαβεν τὸ ὄξος ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν Τετέλεσται [*consummata sunt omnia*] (J.)...καὶ ἰδοὺ τὸ καταπέτασμα τοῦ ναοῦ ἐσχίσθη ἀπ' ἄνωθεν ἕως κάτω εἰς δύο, καὶ ἡ γῆ ἐσείσθη...ὁ δὲ ἑκατόνταρχος καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ...ἐφοβήθησαν σφόδρα (Mt.)[1].

καταπέτασμα τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Ἰερουσαλὴμ εἰς δύο...καὶ ἡ γῆ πᾶσα ἐσείσθη καὶ φόβος μέγας ἐγένετο...τότε ἥλιος ἔλαμψε καὶ εὑρέθη ὥρα ἐνάτη.

C. The Burial.

Tatian.

Ἦλθεν ἀνὴρ ὀνόματι Ἰωσήφ, πλούσιος καὶ βουλευτής (Mt., L.)... ὢν μαθητὴς τοῦ Ἰησοῦ (J.)...εἰσῆλθεν πρὸς τὸν Πειλᾶτον καὶ ᾐτήσατο τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ (Mk.)...ἐκέλευσεν ἀποδοθῆναι (Mt.). καὶ ἀγοράσας σινδόνα καθελὼν αὐτὸν ἐνείλησεν τῇ σινδόνι (Mk.)...ἔλαβον οὖν τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ...ἦν δὲ ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ὅπου ἐσταυρώθη κῆπος καὶ ἐν τῷ κήπῳ μνημεῖον (J.)...καὶ προσκυλίσαντες λίθον μέγαν τῇ θύρᾳ τοῦ μνημείου ἀπῆλθον (Mt.).

Peter.

Ἰωσὴφ ὁ φίλος Πειλάτου καὶ τοῦ κυρίου...ἦλθεν πρὸς τὸν Πειλᾶτον καὶ ᾔτησε τὸ σῶμα τοῦ κυρίου πρὸς ταφήν......

δεδώκασι τῷ Ἰωσὴφ τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ἵνα αὐτὸ θάψῃ...λαβὼν δὲ τὸν κύριον ἔλουσε καὶ εἴλησε σινδόνι καὶ εἰσήγαγεν εἰς ἴδιον τάφον καλούμενον Κῆπον Ἰωσήφ...

καὶ κυλίσαντες λίθον μέγαν ...ὁμοῦ πάντες οἱ ὄντες ἐκεῖ ἔθηκαν ἐπὶ τῇ θύρᾳ τοῦ μνήματος.

D. The Visit of the Women to the Tomb.

Tatian.

ὀψὲ δὲ σαββάτων τῇ ἐπιφωσκούσῃ εἰς μίαν σαββάτων (Mt.), ὄρθρου βαθέως (L.), ἦλθεν Μαρία ἡ Μαγδαληνὴ καὶ ἡ ἄλλη Μαρία καὶ αἱ λοιπαί (L.)[2], θεωρῆσαι τὸν τάφον (Mt.), φέρουσαι ἃ ἡτοίμασαν ἀρώματα (L.). καὶ ἔλεγον πρὸς ἑαυτάς Τίς ἀποκυλίσει ἡμῖν τὸν λίθον

Peter.

τῇ δὲ νυκτὶ ᾗ ἐπέφωσκεν ἡ κυριακή...ὄρθρου...τῆς κυριακῆς Μαριὰμ ἡ Μαγδαληνὴ...λαβοῦσα μεθ' ἑαυτῆς τὰς φίλας ἦλθε ἐπὶ τὸ μνημεῖον ὅπου ἦν τεθείς...καὶ ἔλεγον ...τίς δὲ ἀποκυλίσει ἡμῖν καὶ τὸν λίθον τὸν τεθέντα ἐπὶ τῆς θύρας τοῦ μνημείου; ... μέγας

[1] Ephraim (p. 257): "postea denuo luxit."

[2] The Curetonian Syriac adds to Luke xxiv. 1 "and there were with them other women." Comp. Tisch. ad loc.

ἐκ τῆς θύρας τοῦ μνημείου; ἦν γὰρ μέγας σφόδρα ... καὶ ἐλθοῦσαι [*et uenientes*] εὗρον τὸν λίθον ἀποκεκυλισμένον...ἀπὸ τοῦ μνημείου... εἰσελθοῦσαι δὲ (L.)...εἶδον ἐκεῖ (?) νεανίσκον καθήμενον ἐν τοῖς δεξιοῖς περιβεβλημένον στολὴν λευκήν (Mk.), καὶ ἐθαμβήθησαν.. εἶπεν ταῖς γυναιξίν Μὴ φοβεῖσθε ὑμεῖς, οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι Ἰησοῦν τὸν ἐσταυρωμένον ζητεῖτε· οὐκ ἔστιν ὧδε, ἠγέρθη γάρ...δεῦτε ἴδετε τὸν τόπον ὅπου ἔκειτο (Mt.)... ἦλθεν...εἰς τὸ μνημεῖον καὶ παρακύψας βλέπει...Μαρία δὲ...παρέκυψεν εἰς τὸ μνημεῖον καὶ θεωρεῖ δύο ἀγγέλους ἐν λευκοῖς καθεζομένους...ὅπου ἔκειτο τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ...λέγει αὐτῇ Ἰησοῦς...τίνα ζητεῖς; (J.).

γὰρ ἦν ὁ λίθος...βάλωμεν ἃ φέρομεν εἰς μνημοσύνην αὐτοῖ.

καὶ ἀπελθοῦσαι εὗρον τὸν τάφον ἠνεῳγμένον· καὶ προσελθοῦσαι παρέκυψαν ἐκεῖ καὶ ὁρῶσιν ἐκεῖ τινα νεανίσκον καθεζόμενον μέσῳ τοῦ τάφου, ὡραῖον καὶ περιβεβλημένον στολὴν λαμπροτάτην, ὅστις ἔφη αὐταῖς Τί ἤλθατε; τίνα ζητεῖτε; μὴ τὸν σταυρωθέντα ἐκεῖνον; ἀνέστη καὶ ἀπῆλθεν· εἰ δὲ μὴ πιστεύετε, παρακύψατε καὶ ἴδατε τὸν τόπον ἔνθα ἔκειτο, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν· ἀνέστη γάρ...τότε αἱ γυναῖκες φοβηθεῖσαι ἔφυγον.

This comparison does not justify the conclusion that the writer of our fragment was limited to the use of the Diatessaron. In B and C he might have derived his knowledge of the canonical Gospels from this source exclusively; in A and D, on the other hand, there are traces of the influence of passages of St Mark which are not incorporated in the Arabic Harmony. Thus in A, St Mark alone has πορφύραν, ἐνέπτυον, and (in this immediate context) ἀκάνθινον στέφανον; yet only the initial words of St Mark's account appear in the existing Harmony. In D, again, the Arabic Tatian omits the clause καὶ ἐξελθοῦσαι ἔφυγον (Mark xvi. 8), which is distinctly reflected by the closing words in the Petrine account. It is of course possible that in both cases the original Diatessaron contained the omitted passages, so that it would be unsafe to draw any negative inference from these exceptions. Still they must be allowed due weight as detracting from the completeness of the case in favour of Peter's indebtedness to Tatian. On the whole we may perhaps claim to have established a strong presumption that the Petrine writer employed a harmony which in its general selection of extracts, and in some of its minuter arrangements, very nearly resembled the Harmony of Tatian. This is not equivalent to saying that he used Tatian, because there is some reason to think that there may have been a harmony or harmonies earlier than Tatian; nor does it preclude the use by Peter of one or more of the Gospels separately, in addition to

his use of a harmonised narrative. Nor again are we justified in extending this presumption beyond the limits of the narrative of the Passion, for the evidence derived from the fragment carries us no further. It is conceivable that the harmony to which our writer had access was a harmony of the Passion-history and not of the whole cycle of evangelical teaching. The rest of his narrative might, if recovered, be found to present quite another set of phaenomena. Thus the relation of the Petrine writer to Tatian remains for the present an open question; but enough has been said to render such a relation probable if further enquiries should lead us to place the Gospel of Peter after the publication of the Diatessaron. The harmonising tendency of Peter seems to be sufficiently established.

IV.

In his chronology of the Passion-history the Petrine writer follows close in the steps of St John. The Condemnation takes place on the day before the Sabbath (i.e. the weekly Sabbath, since it is followed immediately by the Lord's Day); and the Sabbath next after the Crucifixion coincides with the first day of Unleavened Bread. The Crucifixion, therefore, occurred on Friday, Nisan 14, before the Passover began.

So far all is plain. But there are two minor points which present considerable difficulty.

1. After the Crucifixion the disciples are represented as keeping fast *νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ἕως τοῦ σαββάτου* (c. vii.). Since the Paschal Sabbath began three hours after the Death of the Lord, it has been thought that Peter refers to the Sabbath of the following week, and this view is strengthened by the statement at the end of the fragment, that on the last day of the feast the disciples were still mourning. But it is more natural to interpret *ἕως τοῦ σαββάτου* in reference to the Paschal Sabbath, which is certainly intended in the context (c. viii.). Yet if the Paschal Sabbath was the further limit of the fast, when did it begin? Doubtless with the end of the Last Supper, i.e. according to the usual reckoning, on Thursday night. But the *Didascalia*, which possibly represents the Petrine chronology in this matter, allows a longer interval, for it supposes the Passover to have been actually kept on Tuesday, Nisan 11[1]. and the arrest to have followed

[1] v. 14, 17 *τρεῖς ἡμέρας πρὸ τοῦ καιροῦ ἐποίησαν τὸ πάσχα, ἐνδεκάτῃ τοῦ μηνὸς τρίτῃ σαββάτων.*

the same evening. The explanation would be satisfactory if it agreed with the data in c. ii., but it can hardly be maintained in face of Peter's identification of the first day of unleavened bread with the Sabbath. M. Lods thinks that Peter has transferred to the Gospel history the conditions of the Christian Paschal fast, but to make good his position he finds it necessary to translate ἕως τοῦ σαββάτου "until the end of the Sabbath." It is possible that we ought to understand νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας as referring to the conventional treatment of the Darkness as an actual night, which allows for an interval of two nights and two days between the Last Supper and the beginning of the Sabbath. But the true solution may be yet to seek.

2. What is ἡ τελευταία ἡμέρα τῶν ἀζύμων? M. Lods, believing that Peter is still moving amongst Christian ideas, understands him to refer to Sunday, Nisan 16 (Easter Day). But is it conceivable that a writer who had correctly spoken of Nisan 15 as the first day of the feast, would have permitted himself to speak of Nisan 16 as the last? It is clearly his intention to follow the Jewish reckoning; and if so, "the last day of unleavened bread" can scarcely be any other than Friday, Nisan 21. Consequently he must be understood to pass over without notice the intervening period between the early morning of Easter Day, and the Friday after Easter, and to connect the return of the Disciples to Galilee with the latter day. The effect is to eliminate all the appearances to the Women and to the Disciples on Easter Day, and the appearance to the Eleven on the Sunday after Easter. When the fragment breaks off we seem to be on the point of reaching the first revelation (according to Peter) of the Risen Lord to the mourning Apostles[1]. The last words appear to be moulded upon John xxi. 1, and it may be presumed that they introduced a scene more or less nearly corresponding to that which St John proceeds to describe.

V.

The Petrine Gospel contains no verbal quotation from the Old Testament. One passage which appears to make a formal reference to Deuteronomy, gives merely the general sense of the passage; the Petrine version of the Fourth Word from the Cross is as far from the exact words of the Psalm as it is from those of the canonical Gospels. Perhaps the writer has been led by his anti-Judaic spirit to affect indifference to the Jewish Scriptures; there is significance in the phrase γέγραπται αὐτοῖς with which his only direct appeal to them is intro-

[1] The fast had been broken by the Sabbath; the mourning at least was resumed.

duced. Nevertheless he has not been able to escape from the influence of the Psalms and the Prophets; his very opposition to Judaism has familiarised him with the testimonies which Christians of the second century were in the habit of citing in their controversies with the Jews. Several of his allusions are obscure and do not carry conviction at first sight, but can be recognised with little hesitation when they are compared with the direct quotations which are to be found in other writers. The following table may assist the student in making the comparison; he will doubtless be able to add to the list of patristic references, which makes no claim to completeness.

Deut. xxi. 23 (Josh. x. 37).	*Ev. Pet.* i. iv.	Just. *dial.* 89. Tert. *Iud.* 10. Epiph. *haer.* 66, 80.
Ps. ii. 1, 2.	*Ev. Pet.* i. ii.	Tert. *res. carn.* 20, *Prax.* 28. *Const. Ap.* v. 19.
Ps. xxi. (xxii.) 1.	*Ev. Pet.* iv.	Just. *dial.* 99. Eus. *dem. ev.* x. 8.
Ps. xxi. (xxii.) 19.	*Ev. Pet.* iv.	Barn. 6. 7. Just. *dial.* 97, *apol.* i. 38. Tert. *Iud.* 10. *Marc.* iv. 42. *Const. Ap.* v. 14. Cyril. H. *catech.* xiii. 26.
Ps. lxviii. (lxix.) 22.	*Ev. Pet.* v.	Barn. 7. 3—5. Sibyll. viii. 303. *Const. Ap.* v. 14. Tert. *Iud.* 10. *Marc.* iv. 42. Cyril. H. *catech.* xiii. 29.
Ps. lxxiii. (lxxiv.) 4, 5.	*Ev. Pet.* iii.	*Const. Ap.* v. 15.
Isa. l. 6.	*Ev. Pet.* iii.	Barn. 5. 14.
Isa. lviii. 2 (cf. Ps. lxxi. 1, 2, &c.).	*Ev. Pet.* iii.	Just. *apol.* i. 35.
Hosea x. 6.	*Ev. Pet.* i.	Just. *dial.* 103. Cyril. H. *catech.* xiii. 14.
Amos viii. 9, 10.	*Ev. Pet.* v. viii.	Iren. iv. 33. 12. Tert. *Iud.* 10. *Marc.* iv. 42. Eus. *dem. ev.* x. 6.
Zech. xi. 13, Aq. (cf. Matt. xxvi. 9).	*Ev. Pet.* iii.	Tert. *Marc.* iv. 40. Cyril. H. *catech.* xiii. 10.
Zech. xiv. 6, 7.	*Ev. Pet.* v.	*Const. Ap.* v. 14. Eus. *dem. ev.* x. 7. Cyril. H. *catech.* xiii. 24.

In the absence of formal quotations it is precarious to speculate upon the writer's use of a version. His references to Pss. xxii. 19, lxix. 22, lxxiv. 4, 5, Amos viii. 9, 10, seem to involve the use of a version and, in Ps. lxxiv. at least, of the LXX. Two or three very unusual words may suggest acquaintance with Symmachus. On the other hand, his rendering of the Fourth Word implies a knowledge of the original, unless he has borrowed it from a secondary source.

VI.

We proceed to enquire whether there are any signs of a tacit use by early Church-writers of the Petrine narrative of the Passion. Traces of such use have already been sought with some success in various directions. The reader will find below a comparative view of the supposed allusions to Peter which have come to light in writings of the second third and fourth centuries.

GOSPEL OF ST PETER.	EPISTLE OF BARNABAS[1].
καί τις αὐτῶν εἶπεν Ποτίσατε αὐτὸν χολὴν μετὰ ὄξους, καὶ κεράσαντες ἐπότισαν (c. v.).	*ἀλλὰ καὶ σταυρωθεὶς ἐποτίζετο ὄξει καὶ χολῇ. ἀκούσατε πῶς περὶ τούτου πεφανέρωκαν οἱ ἱερεῖς τοῦ ναοῦ...τί οὖν λέγει ἐν τῷ προφήτῃ; Καὶ φαγέτωσαν ἐκ τοῦ τράγου τοῦ προσφερομένου τῇ νηστείᾳ ὑπὲρ πασῶν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν. προσέχετε ἀκριβῶς Καὶ φαγέτωσαν οἱ ἱερεῖς μόνοι πάντες τὸ ἔντερον ἄπλυτον μετὰ ὄξους. πρὸς τί; ἐπειδὴ ἐμὲ ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτιῶν μέλλοντα τοῦ λαοῦ μου τοῦ καινοῦ προσφέρειν τὴν σάρκα μου, μέλλετε ποτίζειν χολὴν μετὰ*
ἐπὶ δε τούτοις πᾶσιν ἐνηστεύομεν... ὁ λαὸς ἅπας...κόπτεται τὰ στήθη (c. vii. viii.).	*ὄξους, φάγετε ὑμεῖς μόνοι, τοῦ λαοῦ νηστεύοντος καὶ κοπτομένου* (7. 3—5).

[1] I owe to Mr J. Rendel Harris this reference to Barnabas, and several suggestions with regard to it. The whole chapter in B. will repay examination.

GOSPEL OF ST PETER.

ἐνέπτυον... ἐράπισαν... ἐμάστιζον (c. iii.).

αὐτὸς δὲ ἐσιώπα (c. iv.).

στέφανον ἀκάνθινον (c. iii.).

καλάμῳ ἔνυσσον αὐτόν (c. iii.).

νομίζοντες ὅτι νύξ ἐστιν (c. v.).

ἐκήρυξας τοῖς κοιμωμένοις (c. ix.).

SIBYLLINE ORACLES.

δώσουσιν δὲ θεῷ ῥαπίσματα χερσὶν ἀνάγνοις | καὶ στόμασιν μιαροῖς ἐμπτύσματα φαρμακόεντα. | δώσει δ' ἐς μάστιγας ἁπλῶς ἁγνὸν τότε νῶτον, | καὶ κολαφιζόμενος σιγήσει, μή τις ἐπιγνῷ | τίς τίνος ἢ πόθεν ἦλθεν, ἵνα φθιμένοισι λαλήσει. | καὶ στέφανον φορέσει τὸν ἀκάνθινον... | πλευρὰς νύξουσιν καλάμῳ διὰ τὸν νόμον αὐτῶν | ... ἐς δὲ τὸ βρῶμα χολὴν καὶ πιέμεν ὄξος ἔδωκαν | ...νὺξ ἔσται σκοτόεσσα πελώριος ἐν τρισὶν ὥραις | ... ἥξει δ' εἰς Ἀΐδην ἀγγέλλων ἐλπίδα πᾶσιν | τοῖς ἁγίοις (viii. 288 sqq.).

GOSPEL OF ST PETER.

τῶν δὲ Ἰουδαίων οὐδεὶς.. οὐδὲ Ἡρῴδης.. ἀνέστη Πειλᾶτος (c. i.).

ἔλεγον Σύρωμεν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ...καὶ ἐκάθισαν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ καθέδραν κρίσεως, λέγοντες Δικαίως κρῖνε, βασιλεῦ τοῦ Ἰσραήλ (c. iii.).

καὶ τεθεικότες τὰ ἐνδύματα ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ διεμερίσαντο, καὶ λαχμὸν ἔβαλον ἐπ' αὐτοῖς (c. iv.).

JUSTIN MARTYR[1].

μηνύει [τὸ προφητικὸν πνεῦμα] τὴν γεγενημένην Ἡρῴδου τοῦ βασιλέως Ἰουδαίων καὶ αὐτῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ Πιλάτου τοῦ ὑμετέρου παρ' αὐτοῖς γενομένου ἐπιτρόπου... κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ συνέλευσιν (*apol.* i. 40).

καὶ γὰρ (ὡς εἶπεν ὁ προφήτης) διασύροντες αὐτὸν ἐκάθισαν ἐπὶ βήματος καὶ εἶπον Κρῖνον ἡμῖν (*apol.* i. 35).

Δαβὶδ...εἶπεν ἐν εἰκοστῷ πρώτῳ ψαλμῷ...Διεμερίσαντο τὰ ἱμάτιά μου ἑαυτοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἱματισμόν μου ἔβαλον κλῆρον...οἱ σταυρώσαντες αὐτὸν ἐμέρισαν τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ ἑαυτοῖς, λαχμὸν βάλλοντες ἕκαστος κατὰ τὴν τοῦ κλήρου ἐπιβολήν, ὃ ἐκλέξασθαι ἐβεβούλητο (*dial.* 97).

[1] The parallels between Justin and Peter have been more fully worked out by Harnack, pp. 37—40; compare Zahn, pp. 66—70.

Gospel of St Peter.

τῶν δὲ Ἰουδαίων οὐδεὶς ἐνίψατο τὰς χεῖρας κ.τ.λ. (c. i.).

καὶ τότε κελεύει Ἡρῴδης ὁ βασιλεὺς παραλημφθῆναι τὸν κύριον (c. i.).

ἡμεῖς αὐτὸν ἐθάπτομεν...γέγραπται γὰρ...ἥλιον μὴ δῦναι ἐπὶ πεφονευμένῳ (c. i.).

παρέδωκεν αὐτὸν τῷ λαῷ πρὸ μιᾶς τῶν ἀζύμων, τῆς ἑορτῆς αὐτῶν (c. ii.).

νομίζοντες ὅτι νύξ ἐστιν...τότε ἥλιος ἔλαμψε, καὶ εὑρέθη ὥρα ἐνάτη (c. v.).

ἐνηστεύομεν, καὶ ἐκαθεζόμεθα.. νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ἕως τοῦ σαββάτου (c. vii.).

Didascalia[1] and Apostolical Constitutions.

ὁ μὲν ἀλλόφυλος κριτὴς νιψάμενος τὰς χεῖρας εἶπεν Ἀθῷός εἰμι...ὁ δὲ Ἰσραὴλ ἐπεβόησε Τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς (v. 19).

καὶ Ἡρῴδης ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν σταυρωθῆναι (*ib.* cf. *A. C.*).

Πιλᾶτος ὁ ἡγεμὼν καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἡρῴδης ἐκέλευσαν αὐτὸν σταυρωθῆναι (v. 19).

θάπτεται πρὸ ἡλίου δύσεως (*A.C.* v. 14).

ἐν αὐτῇ γὰρ ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν τῆς ἑορτῆς ἐσταύρωσάν με (v. 15).

ἔπειτα ἐγένετο τρεῖς ὥρας σκότος καὶ ἐλογίσθη νύξ, καὶ πάλιν ἀπὸ ἐνάτης ὥρας...ἡμέρα (v. 14).

οὕτω γὰρ ἐνηστεύσαμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς παθόντος τοῦ κυρίου (v. 19).

Gospel of St Peter.

...τῶν δὲ Ἰουδαίων οὐδεὶς ἐνίψατο τὰς χεῖρας...καὶ μὴ βουληθέντων νίψασθαι (c. i.).

αὐτὸς δὲ ἐσιώπα ὡς μηδὲν πόνον ἔχων (c. iv.).

σκότος κατέσχε πᾶσαν τὴν Ἰουδαίαν (c. v.).

καί τις αὐτῶν εἶπεν Ποτίσατε αὐτὸν χολὴν μετὰ ὄξους· καὶ κερά-

Origen, *hom. in Matt.*[2]

[Pilatus] ipse quidem se lauit, illi autem...se mundare noluerunt a sanguine Christi (§ 124).

in his omnibus [sc. spinis, calamo, delusione] unigenita illa uirtus nocita non est, sicut nec passa est aliquid (§ 125).

tenebrae tantum modo super omnem terram Iudaeam sunt factae ad horam nonam (§ 134).

sic [*i.e.* spongia impleta aceto] impleuit prophetiam in se dicentem

[1] The *Didascalia* has been quoted from Lagarde's retranslation printed in Bunsen's *Anal. Ante-Nicaen.* ii.

[2] See Mr J. O. F. Murray's article *Evangelium secundum Petrum* in the *Expositor* for Jan. 1893.

σαντες ἐπότισαν. καὶ ἐπλήρωσαν πάντα καὶ ἐτελείωσαν κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτῶν τὰ ἁμαρτήματα (c. v.).	de se *Et dederunt in escam meam fel, et in siti mea potauerunt me aceto:* ideo et secundum Ioannem cum accepisset Iesus acetum cum felle dixit *Consummatum est* (§ 137)[1].
καὶ εἰπὼν ἀνελήφθη (c. v.).	statim ut clamauit ad Patrem receptus est...post tres horas receptus est (§ 140).

GOSPEL OF ST PETER.	CYRIL OF JERUSALEM, *catech.* xiii.[2]
τῶν δὲ Ἰουδαίων κ.τ.λ. (c. i.).	*ὁ μὲν γὰρ Πιλᾶτος...ὕδατι ἀπενίπτετο τὰς χεῖρας· οἱ δὲ ἐπιβοῶντες ἔλεγον Τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς* (§ 21).
Ἡρῴδης ὁ βασιλεύς (c. i.).	*Ἡρῴδης δὲ ἦν τότε βασιλεύς* (§ 14).
καὶ τεθεικότες τὰ ἐνδύματα ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ διεμερίσαντο, καὶ λαχμὸν ἔβαλον ἐπ' αὐτοῖς (c. iv.).	*οἱ στρατιῶται διεμερίσαντο τὸ περιβόλαιον εἰς τέσσαρα σχισθέν, ὁ δὲ χιτὼν οὐκ ἐσχίσθη...καὶ λαχμὸς περὶ τούτου γίνεται τοῖς στρατιώταις, καὶ τὸ μὲν μερίζονται, περὶ τούτου δὲ λαγχάνουσιν. ἆρα καὶ τοῦτο γέγραπται;...Διεμερίσαντο τὰ ἱμάτιά μου ἑαυτοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἱματισμόν μου ἔβαλον κλῆρον· κλῆρος δὲ ἦν ὁ λαχμός* (§ 26).
ἠγωνίων μή ποτε ὁ ἥλιος ἔδυ... νομίζοντες ὅτι νύξ ἐστιν...τότε ἥλιος ἔλαμψε καὶ εὑρέθη ὥρα ἐνάτη (c. v.).	*μεσέμβολον ἦν ἄρα τὸ σκότος, ὠνόμασε δὲ ὁ θεὸς τὸ σκότος νύκτα. διὰ τοῦτο οὔτε ἡμέρα ἦν οὔτε νύξ... ἀλλὰ μετὰ τὴν ἐνάτην ἔλαμψεν ὁ ἥλιος* (§ 24).
καί τις αὐτῶν εἶπεν Ποτίσατε αὐτὸν χολὴν μετὰ ὄξους· καὶ κεράσαντες ἐπότισαν (c. v.).	*διψῶντι τῷ κυρίῳ σπόγγῳ πλησθέντι καὶ περιτεθέντι καλάμῳ προσκομίζει τὸ ὄξος· καὶ ἔδωκαν εἰς τὸ*

[1] Mr Murray points out that Origen, like the writer of Peter, regards the *χολή* as noxious (*Matt.* 137), and the *crurifragium* as an act of mercy (*ib.* 140).

[2] The allusions in Cyril were first noticed (*Academy*, Dec. 24, 1892) by Dr J. H. Bernard, of Trinity College, Dublin; some further parallels have been pointed out to me by Mr A. E. Brooke. One or two may be due to the *Didascalia*, but on the whole it is hardly possible to doubt that Cyril freely used the Gospel of Peter to illustrate his lectures, although he warns his catechumens against the private reading of *apocrypha* (*catech.* iv. 33, 36 *καί μοι μηδὲν τῶν ἀποκρύφων ἀναγίνωσκε κ.τ.λ.*).

ἀπέσπασαν τοὺς ἥλους ἀπὸ τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ κυρίου (c. vi.).

τῶν ἀζύμων, τῆς ἑορτῆς αὐτῶν (c. iii.). ἔλεγον [αἱ γυναῖκες]... κλαύσομεν καὶ κοψόμεθα (c. xi.). ἐγὼ δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἑταίρων μου ἐλυπούμην ...καὶ ἐκρυβόμεθα (c. vii.).

βρῶμά μου χολὴν κ.τ.λ....ποίαν δὲ χολὴν ἔδωκαν;...ἔδωκαν αὐτῷ, φησίν, ἐσμυρνισμένον οἶνον· χολώδης δὲ καὶ κατάπικρος ἡ σμύρνα (§ 29).

ἐξέτεινεν ἀνθρωπίνας χεῖρας...καὶ προσεπάγησαν ἥλοις (§ 28).

ἐν ἀζύμων γὰρ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἑορτῇ αἱ μὲν γυναῖκες αὐτῶν ἐκόπτοντο καὶ ἔκλαιον, ὠδυνῶντο δὲ ἀποκρυβέντες οἱ ἀπόστολοι (§ 25)[1].

Of the writers who thus appear to exhibit indications of acquaintance with our fragment Origen, the writer of the *Didascalia*, Eusebius, and Cyril are later than the period at which the Petrine Gospel is known to have been in circulation. On the other hand Barnabas, Justin, probably also the Sibylline writer, are earlier, and it is obviously of importance to determine their relation to Peter.

1. In Barnabas we find prominence given to two particulars which are also prominent in Peter, the potion of mingled gall and vinegar, and the fasting and mourning that followed the Crucifixion. The former rests on Ps. lxix. 21, but whereas in the Psalm the χολή is regarded as food, in Barnabas, as in Peter, it is administered as a potion (Barn., μέλλετε ποτίζειν χολὴν μετὰ ὄξους: Pet., ποτίσατε αὐτὸν χολὴν μετὰ ὄξους). St Matthew doubtless goes half way towards this new reading of the Psalm (ἔδωκαν αὐτῷ πιεῖν οἶνον [v.l. ὄξος] μετὰ χολῆς μεμιγμένον), and both Barnabas and Peter may have arrived at it in this way: but it is more natural to suppose that one of the two later writers depends upon the other. Now in Barnabas we can discover the reason of the special significance attached to the χολή; it connects itself in the author's mind with certain features in the ritual of the Two Goats. In Barnabas[2] again we catch a glimpse of the notion which underlies the statement as to the Disciples' fast; the Death of the Lord has transformed the Feast of the Passover into the Fast of the Day of Atonement. Both ideas rest on the symbolism of the Jewish Law. Peter

[1] The last four sections of the same *Catechesis* seem to bristle with allusions to our fragment (§ 38 περὶ τοῦ χιτῶνος λαχόντες. § 39 οἱ...λαχόντες περὶ τῶν ἱματίων (where Cyril forgets the distinction he has so carefully drawn in § 26), τὸ καταπέτασμα τοῦ ναοῦ τὸ τότε διερραγέν. § 40 ἔχεις δώδεκα ἀποστόλους τοῦ σταυροῦ μάρτυρας. § 41 τοῦτο [sc. ὁ σταυρός] μετὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ φαίνεσθαι μέλλει πάλιν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ: προσκυνοῦντες τὸν ἀποσταλέντα κύριον...καὶ τὸν ἀποστείλαντα πατέρα.

[2] Barn. 7. 4.

adopts them without explanation; in Barnabas we can see them taking shape and can trace them to their source. It seems to follow that Peter is later than Barnabas and possibly borrows from him. If the Epistle of Barnabas was a work of the first century or of the early years of the second, it may not improbably have come into the hands of the party from which the Petrine Gospel emanated. Their strongly anti-Judaic temper would have made it a welcome document.

2. The resemblances between our fragment and the Eighth Book of the Sibylline Oracles are for the most part superficial. The phrases *δώσουσιν ῥαπίσματα, δώσει δ' ἐς μάστιγας...νῶτον*, point to Isaiah l. 6; *κολαφιζόμενος σιγήσει* is probably a reference to 1 Pet. ii. 19, 23; *στέφανον τὸν ἀκάνθινον* may be a reminiscence of St Mark or St John. But *πλευρὰς νύξουσιν καλάμῳ·* throws important light on the Petrine *καλάμῳ ἔνυσσον αὐτόν.* It connects the latter with John xix. 34 *λόγχῃ αὐτοῦ τὴν πλευρὰν ἔνυξεν*, while the next words in the Sibyllist, *διὰ τὸν νόμον αὐτῶν*, seem to shew that he has also in view the treatment of the Azazel described in Barn. 7. 8[1] (Tert. *adv. Iud.* 14). Here the Petrine form is clearly the later, for it is further from St John. There is also some connexion between the Sibylline *νὺξ ἔσται...ἐν τρισὶν ὥραις* and the Petrine *νομίζοντες ὅτι νύξ ἐστιν*, but it is impossible to determine in this instance on which side the debt lies.

3. The problem of Peter's relations to Justin is one of great interest, and of some difficulty. In *Dial.* 106 we read: *καὶ τὸ εἰπεῖν μετωνομακέναι αὐτὸν Πέτρον ἕνα τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ γεγράφθαι ἐν τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασιν αὐτοῦ γεγενημένον καὶ τοῦτο...σημαντικὸν ἦν τοῦ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον εἶναι δι' οὗ καὶ τὸ ἐπώνυμον Ἰακὼβ τῷ Ἰσραὴλ ἐπικληθέντι ἐδόθη.* In this passage Justin recognises the existence of certain *ἀπομνημονεύματα Πέτρου*, i.e. of a Petrine Gospel. But the 'Memoirs of Peter' may represent the second of the canonical Gospels; and in Mark iii. 16 the fact to which Justin refers is duly recorded. It is therefore unnecessary to conclude that Justin refers to an apocryphal Gospel; nor is it easy to believe that if the Docetic Gospel of St Peter had fallen into his hands he could have been deceived with regard to its true character. Dismissing this consideration, we proceed to the alleged use of our fragment in the first *Apology* and the *Dialogue.* The first instance (p. xxix.) need not detain us; it has nothing in common with Peter which cannot be explained by the influence of Ps. ii. and Acts iv. But the second and third quotations require careful discussion. In the second Justin relates a

[1] *καὶ ἐμπτύσατε πάντες καὶ κατακεντήσατε καὶ περίθετε τὸ ἔριον τὸ κόκκινον περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ, καὶ οὕτως εἰς ἔρημον βληθήτω.*

remarkable incident which he shares with Peter, and there are moreover points of verbal agreement. But (1) the incident seems to rest on a misinterpretation of John xix. 13 which might have occurred to both writers independently; their way of stating it is certainly independent. (2) The words put into the mouth of the mockers differ, and seem to be based on different passages of the Old Testament; Justin expressly refers to Isaiah lviii. 2, Peter seems to have in view similar words in the Psalms and Proverbs. (3) Peter's *σύρωμεν* may certainly have suggested Justin's *διασύροντες*, yet the resemblance is in sound rather than in meaning, and it is more likely that *διασύροντες* was supplied by the Old Testament; *διέσυρον* was substituted by Aquila for *ἐμυκτήριζον* in Prov. i. 30, LXX., a passage where Wisdom is represented as mocked by fools. If on the whole it is thought that one of the two writers had the other in view, the evidence seems to point to a use of Justin by Peter; in Justin the words of St John are given exactly, in Peter they are varied; Justin's account of the incident is brief, Peter's is more diffuse, after the manner of a writer who is working upon the lines of an earlier authority.

We turn to the third parallel. The points are two: both Justin and Peter use the remarkable phrase *λαχμὸν βάλλειν*, and both use it, not exclusively in reference to the *χιτών*, as St John does, but of the *ἱμάτια* in general. Since the phrase is not known to occur in any other connexion, and its use in this connexion is limited, as far as we know, to Justin, Peter and Cyril, it seems certain that its origin is to be sought for either in the earliest of those writers, or in some source which lies behind them all. That it was borrowed by Justin from Peter is improbable, for the context in Justin shews no sign of Petrine influence; on the contrary Justin speaks in it of the piercing of the Lord's Hands and Feet, whereas in Peter, notwithstanding Ps. xxii. 16, the nails are drawn forth only from the Hands. On the other hand it is not necessary to suppose that Peter was indebted for the phrase directly to Justin. It is difficult to understand why either writer should have gone out of his way to adopt so singular an expression if it had not been previously known to him through an earlier rendering of Ps. xxii. 18. Now St John with that verse in view uses *λάχωμεν*[1], and Symmachus in the Psalm itself rendered יַפִּילוּ גוֹרָל by *ἐλάγχανον*. Is it overbold to conjecture that in another version which followed the Hebrew more closely, the reading was *ἔβαλλον* or *ἔβαλον λαχμόν*? Even in the case

[1] In his paraphrase of John xix. 24 Nonnus twice uses *λαχμός*, but not in the phrase *λαχμὸν βάλλειν*. He seems to understand the game known as *πλειστοβολίνδα*; cf. D. Heinsii *exerc.* ad loc.

of Cyril it may be doubted whether a traditional rendering or paraphrase of the Psalm is not present to his mind rather than Peter's use of the passage. For he is completely at issue with Peter's identification of the *διαμερισμός* and the *λαχμός*; the first, he points out, refers to the *ἱμάτια*, the second only to the *χιτών* (*τὰ μὲν μερίζονται περὶ τούτου δὲ λαγχάνουσιν*). Yet he clings to the phrase, even though he finds it necessary to explain what it means (*κλῆρος δὲ ἦν ὁ λαχμός*). Is it probable that while rejecting the statement of the Petrine Gospel, he would have retained and explained a difficult phrase connected with it, unless the phrase had possessed some higher claim upon his consideration than its place in an *apocryphon* would supply? On the whole there is reason to suppose that although in this instance the connexion between Justin and Peter (and perhaps Cyril also) is a real one, it implies no more than a relation to a common source. In the present state of our knowledge, this explanation can only be conjectural: on the other hand it is sufficiently probable to make us pause before we assert that Justin has used the Petrine fragment.

Thus there is at present no satisfactory proof that our fragment was used by any writer before the end of the second century. The sparing and unacknowledged use of it by writers of the third and fourth centuries is in harmony with all that we know as to the origin and early circulation of the Petrine Gospel. Such allusions do not compel us to modify our belief as to the relatively narrow area of its influence. The facts are consistent with a very moderate circulation within the limits of Syria and Palestine. Some striking coincidences appear in the Didascalia and in the Apostolical Constitutions, both probably of Syrian and Palestinian origin. The references in Origen occur only in the homilies on St Matthew, which belong to the last stage of his literary career when Caesarea and not Alexandria was the centre of his work. If, as seems nearly certain, the Gospel was known to Cyril, he knew it merely as one of the apocryphal books current in Palestine, against which he warns his catechumens while he is not unwilling to borrow from them any details which seemed impressive or edifying. It is not improbable that patristic students may stumble upon other traces of the Petrine story of the Passion in Church writers connected by birth or other circumstances with Antioch, Caesarea or Jerusalem. Of a direct influence exerted by it upon Egyptian and Western writers there is at present no sufficient evidence[1].

[1] Nonnus presents some interesting parallels (J. M. C., *Scottish Guardian*, March 10, 1893), and Mr F. P. Badham (*Athenæum*, May 13) points out others in Lactantius; but as proofs of a direct use of Peter they are not convincing.

VII.

It is natural to attempt a comparison of the Petrine fragment with other survivals of apocryphal Gospel-literature. Our materials are as yet far too imperfect to yield large results: yet there are a few points which can be clearly seen.

(1) The Gospel of Peter belongs to a class of writings which claimed to preserve the personal narrative of one of the Apostles. Such compositions seem to have been characteristic of the Gnostic sects of the second century; the Gospel or Tradition of Matthias e.g. was current among the Basilidians, the Gospel of Philip is attributed by Epiphanius to a sect of Ophite Gnostics. The Docetae of Western Syria followed the fashion of the age in putting forth a Gospel of this type, which received the name of the Apostolic founder of the Church of Antioch.

(2) The Petrine Gospel, to judge by the Akhmîm fragment, was a free harmony of the canonical Gospels, rather than an attempt to rewrite the history. Not a single *agraphon* is found in the fragment. This circumstance may indeed be due to the writer's purpose of representing the Lord as silent during the Passion. But the manner in which he has handled his facts suggests another explanation. He is unwilling to go far beyond the lines of the canonical narrative. He is prepared to shift, transpose, reset his materials, but not to invent important sayings for which there is no authority in the canonical tradition. This cautious conservatism differentiates the Gospel of Peter from the Gospel according to the Egyptians and the Gospel of the Hebrews, which, so far as we know them, were largely independent of the Canon.

(3) It is scarcely to be doubted that our Gospel was written with the purpose of promoting Docetic, perhaps also Encratite views. There were many methods open to the writer. He might have contented himself, as Basilides and Valentinus appear to have done, with supplementing the canonical Gospels by expositions which grafted upon them the interpretations of his sect. Or he might have interpolated the canonical history, or, like Marcion, have selected one of the Gospels and submitted it to revision. He has not followed either of these precedents. His method is to exhibit a manipulated harmony. In form, however, his work is not a harmony, but a personal statement, and this literary fiction leaves him free to take certain liberties with the documents before him. He allows himself another in-

dulgence which no mere harmonist could have ventured to take. He omits large portions of the narrative which were unfavourable to his views. He adds here and there a suggestive remark; he gives to familiar words a new turn which favours a non-catholic interpretation. He introduces apocalyptic passages which extend the simpler narrative of the Gospels in the direction of Gnostic speculation. Yet the whole is done with so much skill that the heretical tendency of the fragment has been stoutly denied. If we understand his position aright, the writer of Peter belonged to a minority whose policy was conciliation, and his purpose was not so much to supply a Gospel for the use of a sect, as to propagate a Docetic Christology within the Church from which he had not yet parted company.

Thus the Gospel of Peter seems to have held an unique position among the Gospels of the second century. To this circumstance we may venture to attribute its limited circulation. Serapion checked its acceptance within the Church. Among Separatists it was not sufficiently aggressive to secure general support. If a harmony of the canonical Gospels were desired, it could be found in the work of Tatian: if a new Gospel, strongly flavoured with distinctive tenets, many such were at hand. The Petrine Gospel shared the fate which commonly attends a compromise; it failed to satisfy either party, and fell into neglect.

Thus our Gospel stands to some extent alone among the apocryphal Gospels of the second century. But it has marked affinities with other groups of apocryphal writings. Its Gnostic and apocalyptic tone is in full sympathy with the literature which bears the name of Leucius Charinus, and it is difficult to avoid the inference that we have before us a product of the school of writers from which the *Circuits of the Apostles* proceeded during the second half of the second century. It was obviously in the hands of the author of the *Didascalia*, and has influenced the *Apostolical Constitutions.* Lastly, there are traces of its use in the various forms of the Acts of Pilate, but especially in the form which seems to be the latest of all, the *Anaphora Pilati.* A connexion has been supposed to exist between the Petrine Gospel and the *Ascension of Isaiah*, but the coincidence is one of ideas only and does not extend to the literary form.

VIII.

The Gospel of Peter, Serapion tells us, not only emanated from the Docetic party (τῶν καταρξαμένων αὐτοῦ οὓς Δοκητὰς καλοῦμεν), but its general tendency was Docetic (τὰ γὰρ πλείονα φρονήματα ἐκείνων ἐστὶ

τῆς διδασκαλίας). This tendency did not, however, largely interfere with its representation of the facts, but was chiefly shewn in unorthodox additions (τὰ μὲν πλεῖονα τοῦ ὀρθοῦ λόγου...τινὰ δὲ προσδιεσταλμένα).

In the fragment which survives accretions of this character are few, but their purpose is sufficiently clear. We may schedule them in the fragment, as Serapion did throughout the Gospel:

(1) The Lord's freedom from pain at the moment of Crucifixion.

(2) His desertion by His 'Power' at the moment of Death.

(3) The representation of His Death as an ἀνάληψις.

(4) The supernatural height of the Angels and especially of the Risen Christ.

(5) The personification of the Cross.

To this list we ought perhaps to add the sealing of the stone with seven seals. If our view of the order of the events is correct, the omission of all the Easter-week appearances must be attributed to the same tendency.

Two or three general remarks may be added. (*a*) Our fragment is intensely anti-Judaic in tone; a chief purpose is clearly to throw the full responsibility of the Crucifixion upon the Jews and to intensify their guilt. (*b*) It betrays no sign of an Ebionitic view of the Person of Christ; on the other hand, it gives prominence to His supernatural and Divine character. By those who speak of Him He is invariably called ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ: by the writer himself He is designated ὁ κύριος, even when the reference is to the Dead Christ. Of the Three who issue from the tomb, the Christ alone towers above the heaven. (*c*) The teaching of the fragment with regard to the Lord's Death and Resurrection, while open to suspicion, is not absolutely inconsistent with Catholic language. Origen, as the notes will shew, has apparently used or adopted ἀνελήμφθη in reference to the Death of the Lord: and the Petrine writer distinctly asserts a Resurrection (ἀνέστη).

We may now enter upon the question, To what form of Docetism does our fragment incline?

1. One of the earliest forms of second century Docetism is criticised in the letters of Serapion's great predecessor in the see of Antioch, St Ignatius. Bishop Lightfoot[1] has characterised the Docetism which is condemned by the Ignatian letters as (1) "thorough going," (2) "Judaic." (1) It denied the reality of the Passion; it was scandalised by the Cross.

[1] *S. Ignatius*, i. 373.

Ignatius meets it by asserting that the Lord was truly born, was truly arraigned before Pontius Pilate, was truly crucified and truly died[1]. (2) Lightfoot maintains that the Judaism which Ignatius attacks was only another side of the Docetic heresy. His argument is not perhaps absolutely convincing, but it establishes a probability that the Ignatian Docetae were disposed to Judaize. Certainly there is no trace in the references of Ignatius to these heretics of any antagonism to Judaism on their part, whilst on the other hand it is obvious that there were important points of contact between them and the Judaizers.

In the early part of the second century this cruder form of Docetism seems to have been widely prevalent in the Churches of Asia Minor. It is condemned more or less directly in the Ignatian letters to Tralles, Smyrna, Ephesus, Magnesia, and Philadelphia; the only genuine writings of Ignatius which are free from all allusion to it are the letter to the Romans, and the personal letter to Polycarp. Yet it is clearly not the δόκησις with which the Petrine writer is in sympathy. For (1) he does not suggest that the Trial and the Crucifixion were putative; on the contrary he emphasises both events, only reserving for the Lord an immunity from physical pain. And (2) he is not merely free from any suspicion of Judaizing; he is, as we have seen, aggressively anti-Judaic.

2. At first sight we may be tempted to connect our writer with the school of Cerinthus or of Carpocrates. According to Irenaeus, who is followed by Hippolytus, Cerinthus taught that, though Jesus suffered, died and rose again, the Christ was impassible and left Him before the Passion[2]. Carpocrates, it seems, spoke of a Power which was sent down by the Unbegotten God upon the soul of Jesus, and eventually ascended to its source[3]. Ideas of the same general character are to be found in our fragment, but they appear there in a more guarded, a more complex, and probably a later form. Moreover, the Judaizing tendency of Cerinthus and the humanitarianism of both Cerinthus and Carpocrates exclude the supposition of any direct influence having been exercised by them upon 'Peter.' The early 'Ophite' system described by Irenaeus approaches nearer to Peter's view. According to that system Jesus was born of a Virgin by Divine operation; subsequently the Christ descended on Him, withdrawing before the Crucifixion; after the Crucifixion a Power was sent down upon the Crucified which restored Him to life in a psychic and spiritual

[1] *Magn.* 9. *Eph.* 8. *Trall.* 9.

[2] Iren. i. 26. 2, iii. 11. 1. Hipp. vii. 33.

[3] Iren. i. 25. 1. Hipp. vii. 32.

Body, the Body of the Flesh being however left behind[1]. But the Petrine doctrine differs from this in a material point, for it regards the higher nature of the Lord as remaining with Him on the Cross up to the moment of His Death; nor is there any trace in 'Peter' of the other features of the intricate gnosis with which the Ophite Christology was closely bound up.

3. The two great schools of Basilides and Valentinus claimed for their founders spiritual descent from the Apostles Peter and Paul respectively[2]. Both leaders appear to have accepted in substance the Gospels now regarded as canonical, admitting the facts of the Gospel history, while putting an heretical construction upon them. Of the Basilidians Hippolytus expressly states: *γέγονε πάντα ὁμοίως κατ᾽ αὐτοὺς . . ὡς ἐν τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις γέγραπται*[3]. But Basilides gave an entirely new complexion to both the Crucifixion and the Resurrection. The purpose of the Passion was the *διαίρεσις* of the composite factors of the Lord's Person, which restored each element to its proper sphere. The *σωματικὸν μέρος* suffered and returned to *ἀμορφία*, the psychic was restored to the Hebdomad, and so forth. With these ideas the Petrine fragment has nothing in common.

The sphere of Basilides' influence seems to have been nearly limited to Egypt. Valentinus was the centre of a larger movement. We find him first in Egypt, then in Cyprus, and finally, between A.D. 138 and 160, at Rome. His followers were divided into two schools, Eastern and Western, the 'Anatolic' and the 'Italic.' The Valentinians, according to Hippolytus[4], recognised two Christs, the aeon who, together with the Holy Spirit, emanated from Νοῦς and Ἀλήθεια, and another who was the common product of the whole Pleroma. To the Son of Mary they attributed a psychic, or, as the Eastern Valentinians preferred to say, a pneumatic Body. The fragments of Valentinian teaching excerpted by Clement and representing chiefly the Eastern school, are nearer in tone and general tendency to the Petrine fragment than any Gnostic utterances we have as yet encountered. The following may be taken as specimens:

ὁ κύριος διὰ πολλὴν ταπεινοφροσύνην οὐχ ὡς ἄγγελος ὤφθη ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ἄνθρωπος...αὐτὸς γὰρ καὶ ἄνω φῶς ἦν καὶ ἔστι· τὸ ἐπιφανὲν ἐν σαρκὶ καὶ

[1] Iren. i. 30. 12, 13.

[2] Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vii. 17 *καθάπερ ὁ Βασιλείδης, κἂν Γλαυκίαν ἐπιγράφηται διδάσκαλον, ὡς αὐχοῦσιν αὐτοί, τὸν Πέτρου ἑρμηνέα· ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ Οὐαλεντῖνον Θεοδάδι ἀκηκοέναι φέρουσιν, γνώριμος δ᾽ οὗτος γεγόνει Παύλου.* Can Glaucias have been the name of the supposed translator of the Petrine Gospel, i.e. the assumed name of the author?

[3] Hipp. vii. 27.

[4] Hipp. vi. 35.

τὸ ἐνταῦθα ὀφθὲν οὐχ ὕστερον τοῦ ἄνω, οὐδὲ διεκέκοπτο ᾗ ἄνωθεν μετέστη δεῦρο...ἀλλ' ἦν τὸ πάντῃ ὂν καὶ παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ κἀνταῦθα· δύναμις γὰρ ἦν τοῦ πατρός (*exc. Theod.* § 4).

ἀναστὰς ὁ κύριος εὐηγγελίσατο τοὺς δικαίους τοὺς ἐν τῇ καταπαύσει καὶ μετέστησεν αὐτοὺς καὶ μετέθηκεν (§ 18).

ὁ σταυρὸς τοῦ ἐν πληρώματι ὅρου σημεῖόν ἐστιν· χωρίζει γὰρ τοὺς ἀπίστους τῶν ἀπίστων, ὡς ἐκεῖνος τὸν κόσμον τοῦ πληρώματος (§ 42).

ὅτι μὲν οὖν αὐτὸς ἕτερος ἦν ᾧ ἀνείληφεν δῆλον ἐξ ὧν ὁμολογεῖ Ἐγὼ ἡ ζωή.. καὶ ὅταν λέγῃ Δεῖ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀποδοκιμασθῆναι, ὑβρισθῆναι, σταυρωθῆναι, ὡς περὶ ἄλλου φαίνεται λέγων, δηλονότι τοῦ ἐμπαθοῦς· Καὶ προάξω ὑμᾶς, λέγει, τῇ τρίτῃ τῶν ἡμερῶν εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν· αὐτὸς γὰρ προάγει πάντα καὶ τὴν ἀφανῶς σωζομένην ψυχὴν ἀναστήσειν ᾐνίσσετο καὶ ἀποκαταστήσειν οὗ νῦν προάγει. ἀπέθανεν δὲ ἀποστάντος τοῦ καταβάντος ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ πνεύματος...ἀναστείλας τὴν ἐπελθοῦσαν ἀκτῖνα τῆς δυνάμεως ὁ Σωτὴρ ἀπείλησε μὲν τὸν θάνατον τὸ δὲ θνητὸν σῶμα ἀποβαλὼν πάθη ἀνέστησεν. τὰ ψυχικὰ μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἀνίσταται καὶ ἀνασώζεται...κάθηται μὲν οὖν ὁ ψυχικὸς Χριστὸς ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ (§§ 61, 62).

The last of these extracts appears to represent Western rather than Eastern Valentinianism; a member of the Anatolic school would have spoken of the Risen Christ as 'pneumatic' and not 'psychic.' But the point is not important for our present purpose. We see how a Valentinian writer could make the facts of the Gospel history the vehicle of Gnostic teaching; and we understand why the Docetic author of the Petrine Gospel was content to accept the canonical narrative as the basis of his own. But besides this, we recognise in these Valentinian comments points of contact with our fragment where the latter reveals its true character. We observe in both the same distinction between the Impassible Christ and the Passible; in both the Power from above leaves the Lord at His death; in both there is a Resurrection effectuated by an external agency and apparently not extending to the natural Body. Both again are characterised by the prominence which is given to the Cross and to the Preaching to the Dead, although neither of these particulars is worked out in the same way by the two writers. On the whole, while the evidence does not justify us in regarding the Petrine writer as a Valentinian, there is reason to suppose that he has felt the influence of the Valentinian School.

4. Both Clement of Alexandria and Hippolytus speak of a party who bore the name of Docetae, and who are distinguished from the

Valentinians and other Gnostic sects. According to Clement[1], the founder of this party was Julius Cassianus, originally a member of one of the Valentinian schools. Cassian shared Tatian's Encratism, and his interest in Docetism appears to have been largely due to his Encratite views. Hippolytus[2] attributes to the later Docetae, presumably the sect which Cassian originated or one nearly allied to it, an elaborate system of gnosis, which combines features apparently derived from several earlier systems, as those of Basilides, Valentinus, and the Naassenes. When we come to the Christology of these Docetae, it proves to be a curious syncretism presenting points of contact with orthodoxy on the one hand, and with many forms of Gnostic speculation on the other. The higher Nature of Christ is the Only Begotten Son, Who is equal in all respects (generation excepted) to the Ingenerate. The Only Begotten contracts Himself and descends through the Aeons, till at length He enters the world and is born of Mary. The Docetic writer proceeds:

> *ἐγεννήθη τὸ ἐξ αὐτῆς ὡς γέγραπται· γεννηθὲν δὲ ἐνεδύσατο αὐτὸ ἄνωθεν ἐλθών, καὶ πάντα ἐποίησεν οὕτως ὡς ἐν τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις γέγραπται. ἐλούσατο εἰς τὸν Ἰορδάνην· ἐλούσατο δὲ τύπον καὶ σφράγισμα λαβὼν ἐν τῷ ὕδατι τοῦ γεγεννημένου σώματος ἀπὸ τῆς παρθένου, ἵν' ὅταν ὁ ἄρχων κατακρίνῃ τὸ ἴδιον πλάσμα θανάτῳ τῷ σταυρῷ, ψυχὴ ἐκείνη ἐν τῷ σώματι τραφεῖσα ἀπεκδυσαμένη τὸ σῶμα...μὴ εὑρεθῇ γυμνή, ἀλλ' ἐνδύσηται τὸ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι ὅτε ἐβαπτίζετο ἀντὶ τῆς σαρκὸς ἐκείνης ἐκτετυπωμένον σῶμα.*

Unfortunately the Hippolytean account breaks off at this point. Its importance for our enquiry lies in the witness which it bears to the existence of a party in the second half of the second century (for the syncretistic spirit it displayed cannot have been earlier) who called themselves Docetae but accepted the Gospel narrative, and whose *δόκησις* was apparently limited to a belief in a pneumatic Body, the impress or counterpart of the Body born of the Virgin, which was acquired by the Lord at the Baptism, and remained as the clothing of His soul after the Crucifixion. There is no evidence that this particular theory was

[1] Clem. Alex. iii. 13 *τοιούτοις ἐπιχειρεῖ καὶ ὁ τῆς δοκήσεως ἐξάρχων Ἰούλιος Κασσιανός.*

[2] Hipp. viii. 10 sqq. Hippolytus plays all round the name, but seems not to perceive its true significance: viii. 8 *ἐπεὶ οἱ πολλοὶ τῇ τοῦ κυρίου συνβουλίᾳ μὴ χρώμενοι τὴν δοκὸν ἐν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ ἔχοντες ὁρᾷν ἐπαγγέλλονται τυφλώττοντες, δοκεῖ ἡμῖν μηδὲ τὰ τούτων δόγματα σιωπᾷν... καὶ τοὺς τῷ δοκεῖν ἀσφάλειαν λόγων κεκτῆσθαι ἐλέγξομεν, οἵγε ἑαυτοὺς Δοκητὰς ἀπεκάλεσαν, δογματίζοντες ταῦτα* (cf. *ib.* 11 *τὸ δοκεῖν εἶναί τινας...τὰ δόξαντα*). His statement that the name proceeded from the party itself is of a piece with the explanation of its meaning.

present to the mind of the Petrine writer, but it is not inconsistent with his story; nor does there appear to be any improbability in the supposition that the Encratite sect founded in Egypt by Julius Cassianus, the Docetae of Hippolytus, and the Docetae of Serapion were closely allied to each other if not identically the same.

IX.

The style of the Petrine fragment has points of contact with the canonical Gospels, especially with St Luke and St John; yet on the whole it differs materially. Here and there the writer uses a phrase of Aramaic origin such as μία τῶν ἀζύμων, ἀνὰ δύο δύο. More frequently he manifests a tendency to substitute classical for Hellenistic forms. Thus he writes καθαρεύω for ἀθῷός εἰμι ἀπό, and employs the optative after ὅπως. In his choice of words he appears to be guided by such writers as Plutarch, Polybius, Dionysius of Halicarnassus; we have ὄψεις for ὀφθαλμοί, ἀγωνιᾷν for φοβεῖσθαι followed by μή, and the phrases φλέγεσθαι ὑπὸ ὀργῆς, τετρῶσθαι κατὰ διάνοιαν. In common with the author of the Acts, whose work seems to be often in view, Peter uses μαθήτρια and χειραγωγεῖν; with Symmachus, the perhaps heretical translator of the Old Testament, he shares the very rare words ὑπορθοῦν and συνσκέπτεσθαι. He shews a partiality for unusual words: for σταυρίσκειν and σκελοκοπεῖν he is as yet our only authority; ὑπακοή in the sense of a 'response' does not seem to occur elsewhere before the last years of the third century, although ὑπακούειν 'to respond' is found in other apocryphal writings of the second; λαχμός is in itself a rare word, and in the phrase λαχμὸν βάλλειν seems to be limited to two or three Christian writers. A characteristic habit of affixing an almost otiose ἐκεῖνος (οἱ κακοῦργοι ἐκεῖνοι, ὁ λίθος ἐκεῖνος, οἱ στρατιῶται ἐκεῖνοι) appears also in the Petrine Apocalypse, and in other apocryphal literature. But the most decisive indication of the relatively late composition of our fragment is to be found in its use of ἡ κυριακή. In the Apocalypse of St John we already have ἡ κυριακὴ ἡμέρα; the *Didache* follows with κυριακὴ Κυρίου; Ignatius speaks of those who live κατὰ κυριακήν; Melito, Bishop of Sardis, about the middle of the second century wrote a treatise περὶ κυριακῆς. The name was therefore familiar amongst Eastern Greek-speaking Christians from the end of the first century. But Peter not only uses it freely, but seems to be unconscious that he is guilty of an anachronism when he imports this exclusively Christian term into the Gospel history. Ἡ

κυριακή has so completely supplanted ἡ μία τῶν σαββάτων, that it is twice used to describe the first Easter Day in a document which usually manifests precision in such matters.

A more vital distinction between the literary character of the Petrine fragment and that of the canonical Gospels lies in the assumption of the first person by the writer of the former. The design of the Synoptic Gospels excludes personal narrative; but it is equally foreign to the Fourth Gospel, even where reference is made to the evangelist as an eye-witness (xix. 35, xx. 30, 31). The method of putting the Gospel-history into the mouth of an Apostle belongs to a type of literature later than the canonical Gospels. Zahn remarks that the first specimen of the kind hitherto known is to be found in the *Gospel of the Twelve*, an Ebionite *apocryphon* which was circulated in Palestine probably about A.D. 170[1]. The *Didascalia* and the *Constitutions* furnish later examples.

X.

We may now approach the question of locality and date. Where and when was the Gospel of Peter written?

1. All the evidence points to Western Syria as the place of origin. The Gospel was read at Rhosus in the time of Serapion. In the next century it was in the hands of the author of the *Didascalia*, and of Origen during his residence in Palestine. Its name and general character were familiar to Eusebius of Caesarea; Cyril of Jerusalem had studied its contents; Theodoret of Cyrrhus knew of its existence. No Western writer shews any independent knowledge of the Petrine Gospel, unless it be Jerome, who like Origen lived for years in Palestine. The discovery of a fragment of the Gospel in the grave of an Egyptian monk proves nothing as to a circulation of the Gospel in Egypt. The writer was in possession of a few leaves only, and the leaves or the copy from which they were detached may have been brought to the Thebaid by some exile from Syria. It will be remembered with interest that in his last wanderings Nestorius paid more than one visit to Panopolis[2].

2. The Gospel of Peter was in use about the year 190, and, according to Serapion, it was the work of at least a generation earlier. Thus the *terminus ad quem* may be fixed at A.D. 170. The other limit is more difficult to determine. Yet if the evidence already produced is

[1] *Das Ev. des Petrus*, p. 17; cf. *Gesch. des N. T. Kanons*, ii. 2, p. 725.

[2] Evagr. Schol. i. 7.

trustworthy, it can scarcely be rash to say that the Gospel, so far as it may be judged by the fragment which survives, was not written before the middle of the second century. The Akhmîm fragment presupposes a knowledge and use of the Four Gospels, and of a text of the Gospels which is already marked by a characteristic interpolation[1]. Its author seems to have had access to a Harmony nearly akin to Tatian's Diatessaron. If he is not actually indebted to Justin, he is versed in the apologetic use of certain passages of the Old Testament which was prevalent among literary Christians from Justin's time. Above all, his doctrinal affinities are those of the second half of the second century. His Docetism is not of the type which was familiar to Ignatius; his Gnosticism connects itself with the schools of Valentinus and Julius Cassianus; his anti-Judaic spirit is worthy of Marcion; his apocalyptic tone finds its nearest parallels in the literature which passes under the name of Leucius Charinus. The conditions are those of the age which followed Justin, and not of that which preceded him. We shall not perhaps be wide of the mark if we place the composition of the Petrine Gospel midway between the limits already indicated, i.e. about A.D. 165; we cannot, consistently with our reading of the facts, place it before A.D. 150.

XI.

On his journey up the Nile, between Assiout and Abu Girgeh, the traveller passes on the East bank, at a little distance from the stream, the large market town of Akhmîm. It marks the site of one of the oldest cities of the Thebaid, the Chemmis of Herodotus (ii. 91), the Panopolis of Strabo (xvii. p. 812). Once the stronghold of the worship of Khem, identified with the Greek Pan, Panopolis became in Christian times a centre of monastic life. An extensive Christian necropolis, begun in the fifth century, bears witness to the ecclesiastical importance of the place in days before the Arab invasion, and Akhmîm is said to contain at the present time a relatively large proportion of Christian inhabitants.

During the winter of 1886—7 the researches of the French Archaeological Mission in Egypt led to the discovery in one of the graves of Christian Panopolis of a small book measuring 6 inches by 4½, and containing 33 leaves of parchment, stitched together into covers of pasteboard roughly cased in leather. The book was found to contain

[1] That the interpolation in Luke xxiii. 48 originated with Peter is improbable. Peter puts it into the mouth of the elders, changing the connexion after his usual manner of dealing with evangelical materials.

fragments of the lost Petrine Gospel and Apocalypse, and of the Greek version of the Book of Enoch; on the inside of the further cover was pasted a single leaf of the Greek Acts of St Julian. The Petrine writings occupy the first nine leaves. The *recto* of the first leaf bears a Coptic cross supported by Α and Ω; the fragment of the Gospel begins under a smaller cross on the second page, ending on fol. 5*b*, where its conclusion is marked by three crosses resting on an ornamental band. A blank leaf follows the Gospel, which is succeeded by the fragment of the Apocalypse. The latter has either been stitched into the volume upside down, or the gathering has been turned by the writer; the two fragments are in the same hand and were probably written about the same time. The writing will be described presently; meanwhile it may be remarked that it can be distinguished at a glance from the hands in which Enoch and the fragment of the Acts have been written. The rest of the book is in uncial characters which appear to be those of the seventh or eighth century; the Petrine fragments are written in a cursive script of a peculiar type, probably belonging to the same period. It is worthy of notice that while each of the Petrine fragments is followed by a blank, as if the writer had stopped because he had reached the end of his copy, there is no such blank between the fragments of the Enoch or at the end of the Codex. It would seem as if the writer of the Petrine matter having in his possession some leaves of Enoch which were nearly of the same size with his 'Peter,' bound the whole together. At the death of the writer (or of the last owner of the book, if it fell into other hands) the precious collection was buried with him. From the position of the grave, M. Bouriant infers that the burial took place not before the beginning of the eighth century, nor after the end of the twelfth.

The palaeographical features which distinguish the Petrine fragments are well defined. The writing is that of a rapid writer who seems unwilling to lift his hand from the parchment. We notice at times the characteristic 'linking' of the letters which marks the papyrus cursive. Many of the letters preserve the uncial form, e.g. Γ, Δ, Η, Μ, Ν, Ρ, C, Υ. But the writer's practice is not uniform; thus Δ occasionally appears almost in the form of d, and Η becomes h. Ι is often inordinately long, Κ takes the shape of k, C is large and singularly formed. The writing is either nearly perpendicular or inclines slightly to the left. Some of the peculiarities in detail occur also in the Akhmîm mathematical papyrus, which M. Baillet ascribes to century vii—viii. But in its general effect, so far as a judgement can be based upon a comparison of the lithographed specimens of the papyrus with the heliotype of the Petrine

fragments, the writing of the latter is quite distinct; the hand is freer, bolder, and more suggestive of the rapid execution of a practised scribe.

M. Lods points out that the writer of the Petrine fragments has used the familiar abbreviations $\alpha\nu\overline{o\varsigma}$, $\overline{\kappa\varsigma}$, $\overline{\theta}\varsigma$, and the horizontal bar for the final ν. In one instance a dative is followed by the ι ascript; once also an apostrophe occurs at the end of a proper name; double dots are occasionally placed over ι and υ, and once over η. There are no breathings or accents, and no stops, except a colon which is said to mark the end of the fragment, but does not appear in the heliograph.

The MS. in places has suffered from damp. The first lines of ff. 1 *b*, 2*a*, and the words lying nearest to the right hand margin of ff. 2*a*, 3*b*, 4*a*, are from this cause more or less difficult to decipher. For words or portions of words which are illegible in the heliotype, I have been compelled, with M. Lods, to trust to M. Bouriant's reading of the MS.; these are indicated by being inclosed in square brackets in the lower margin of the text. An insect has gnawed through the first leaf, destroying the tops of some of the letters in f. 1 *b*, line 2; happily the restoration here proposed by M. Lods is scarcely open to doubt. At the beginning of f. 5*b* the writing suddenly becomes lighter and finer, and continues so throughout the page, but the difference appears to be due merely to a change of pen.

There is some reason to think that the parchment had been at least in places previously occupied by other writing. Traces of an earlier cursive hand are here and there discoverable.

XII.

A considerable literature has already begun to spring up round the Petrine fragments. The following are the most important editions of the fragment of the Gospel and books connected with it.

Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire sous la direction de M. U. Bouriant. Tome neuvième, 1er fascicule, 1892: 3e fascicule, 1893. Paris: Ernest Leroux.

The Apocryphal Gospel of Peter: the Greek text of the newly discovered fragment. London: Macmillan and Co., 1892. Revised edition with some corrections from the MS., 1893.

The Gospel according to Peter and the Revelation of Peter. Two lectures by J. Armitage Robinson, B.D., and M. R. James, M.A. London: C. J. Clay and Sons, 1892. Second edition, 1892.

A popular account of the newly recovered Gospel of St Peter. By J. Rendel Harris. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1892.

Evangelii secundum Petrum et Petri Apocalypseos quae supersunt ...edidit Adolphe Lods. Parisiis ap. Ern. Leroux, 1892.

Bruchstücke des Evangeliums und der Apokalypse des Petrus, von Adolf Harnack. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1893. Second edition, 1893.

Das Evangelium des Petrus, von D. Theodor Zahn. Erlangen u. Leipzig: A. Deichert, 1893[1].

Important contributions to the subject will be found in the *Guardian* (Dec. 7, 14, 1892), *Academy* (Dec. 10, 17, 24, 1892), *Athenæum* (Dec. 17, 1892, May 13, 1893), *Expositor* (Jan., 1893), *Classical Review* (Feb., 1893), *Scottish Guardian* (Feb. 24, &c., 1893), *Preussische Jahrbücher* (Jan., 1893), *Theol. Literaturzeitung* (Dec. 10, 1892, Jan. 21, Apr. 1, 1893), *Theol. Tijdschrift* (May, 1893).

[1] In the critical notes the following abbreviations have been used: B. = Bouriant, H. = Harnack, L. = Lods, R. = Robinson, Z. = Zahn.

ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΕΤΡΟΝ

I. Τῶν δὲ Ἰουδαίων οὐδεὶς ἐνίψατο τὰς χεῖρας, οὐδὲ Ἡρώδης οὐδ' εἷς τῶν κριτῶν αὐτοῦ· καὶ μὴ βουληθέντων νίψασθαι ἀνέστη Πειλᾶτος. καὶ τότε

1 τ[ων] 2 εἷς is uncertain: ουδ εις has perhaps been corrected to ουδε τις 2—3 Parts of the letters represented by καὶ μὴ β have been destroyed: remaining traces support the reading adopted 3 Πειλατης

1. τῶν δὲ Ἰουδαίων κ.τ.λ.] The callousness of the Jewish leaders is sharply contrasted with the scruples of the Gentile Procurator. *Didasc.* v. 19 ὁ μὲν ἀλλόφυλος κριτὴς νιψάμενος τὰς χεῖρας εἶπεν Ἀθῷός εἰμι.. ὁ δὲ Ἰσραὴλ ἐπεβόησε Τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς. Οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι are more especially the Pharisees and priestly party (comp. Pet. vii.); the phrase is from St John (i. 19, &c.). Ἐνίψατο: Matt. xxvii. 24 ἀπενίψατο. The simple verb is used also in *Didasc. l. c.* and *Ev. Nicod.* i. (B) 10 νιπτόμενος τὰς χεῖρας.

2. οὐδ' εἷς τῶν κριτῶν αὐτοῦ κ.τ.λ.] 'Nor yet any one of His judges,' i.e., the members of the Sanhedrin who had condemned Him (Mark xiv. 64). On οὐδὲ εἷς see Winer-Moulton, 216, *n.* 2: for οὐδεὶς...οὐδὲ...οὐδέ Zahn compares Mark xiii. 32. Καὶ μὴ βουληθέντων: see the critical note. The reluctance was significant; cf. Mark vii. 3 οἱ γὰρ Φαρισαῖοι.. ἐὰν μὴ πυγμῇ νίψωνται τὰς χεῖρας οὐκ ἐσθίουσιν. Origen. *Matt.* 124 "et ipse quidem se lauit, illi autem non solum se mundare noluerunt a sanguine Christi, sed etiam super se susceperunt."

3. Since no one chose to follow his example, Pilate rose up from the βῆμα; his part in the trial was over. Cf. Acts xxvi. 30 ἀνέστη τε ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ὁ ἡγεμών. "And then" (καὶ τότε occurs again c. vi.) Herod assumes the *rôle* of judge, and orders that the prisoner be taken over (παραλημφθῆναι, comp. Matt. xxvii. 27 οἱ στρατιῶται . . παραλαβόντες τὸν Ἰησοῦν; *infra*, c. iii.). The object is to minimise the sin of the Procurator by laying the chief guilt at the door of Herod, the representative of the Jews (1, 2). Peter remembers that the Lord was ἐκ τῆς ἐξουσίας Ἡρῴδου (Luke xxiii. 7). He remembers also Ps. ii. 2 οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες συνήχθησαν κ.τ.λ., together with the comment in Acts iv. 27 συνήχθησαν γὰρ ἐπ' ἀληθείας...Ἡρῴδης τε καὶ Πόντιος Πειλᾶτος. The *Didascalia* follows Peter (v. 19 Ἡ. ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν σταυρωθῆναι); in the *Constitutions* the sentence is recast to save the appearance of a conflict with the canonical Gospels: Π. ὁ ἡγεμὼν

κελεύει Ἡρῴδης ὁ βασιλεὺς παραλημφθῆναι τὸν κύριον, εἰπὼν αὐτοῖς ὅτι Ὅσα ἐκέλευσα ὑμῖν ποιῆσαι αὐτῷ, ποιήσατε.

II. *Ἱστήκει δὲ ἐκεῖ Ἰωσὴφ ὁ φίλος Πειλάτου καὶ τοῦ κυρίου, καὶ εἰδὼς ὅτι σταυρίσκειν αὐτὸν μέλλουσιν, ἦλθεν πρὸς τὸν Πειλᾶτον καὶ ᾔτησε τὸ σῶμα τοῦ κυρίου πρὸς ταφήν. καὶ ὁ Πειλᾶτος πέμψας πρὸς Ἡρῴδην ᾔτησεν αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα, καὶ ὁ Ἡρῴδης ἔφη Ἀδελφὲ Πειλᾶτε, εἰ καὶ μή τις αὐτὸν ᾐτήκει, ἡμεῖς*

1 *παρ[αλη]μφθηναι*

καὶ Ἡ. ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκέλευσαν. Ὁ *βασιλεὺς* Ἡ. = *ὁ τετραάρχης* occurs in Mark vi. 14 (cf. Matt. xiv. 9).

2. **Ὅσα ἐκέλευσα ὑμῖν κ.τ.λ.**] This order is possibly intended to include the mockery. Herod's words may refer to an earlier portion of the Petrine narrative based upon Luke xxiii. 11 (*ἐξουθενήσας*).

4. **ἱστήκει δὲ ἐκεῖ Ἰωσὴφ κ.τ.λ.**] Meanwhile Joseph, who had anticipated the sentence, was standing near the spot (cf. John xviii. 16 *ὁ δὲ Πέτρος ἱστήκει πρὸς τῇ θύρᾳ ἔξω*: xix. 25 *ἱστήκεισαν δὲ παρὰ τῷ σταυρῷ κ.τ.λ.*), ready to prefer his request. *Ἀπὸ Ἁριμαθαίας* (Mt., Mk., L., J.) is wanting in Peter, and its place is filled by *ὁ φίλος* Π. *καὶ τοῦ κυρίου*. For Joseph's connexion with Christ see Matt. xxvii. 57 *ἐμαθητεύθη τῷ Ἰησοῦ*, John xix. 38 *ὢν μαθητὴς τοῦ Ἰησοῦ κεκρυμμένος*, and Pet. vi. His acquaintance with Pilate may have been inferred from his wealth and position (*πλούσιος*, Mt., *εὐσχήμων βουλευτής*, Mk.), or from his boldness; a different account is given of the *τόλμα* in *Ev. Nicod.* i. (B) 11. Pilate is again placed in a favourable light; he is a friend of the Lord's friend, and he endorses Joseph's request, sending it on to Herod as the person who possesses jurisdiction. *Ἤτησε*: Mt., Mk., L., *ᾐτήσατο*; J., *ἠρώτησεν*. *Σταυρίσκειν* is unknown to the lexicons; *σταυρώσειν* has been proposed, but perhaps unnecessarily.

7. *Πρὸς ταφήν*: comp. Matt. xxvii. 7 *εἰς ταφήν*.

9. **Ἀδελφὲ Πειλᾶτε κ.τ.λ.**] Luke xxiii. 12 *ἐγένοντο φίλοι*. In his reply Herod identifies himself with the Jews: 'although no one had asked for Him, *we* (*ἡμεῖς*) should bury Him (for the construction cf. John xix. 11 *οὐκ εἶχες ἐξουσίαν...εἰ μὴ ἦν δεδόμενον*); our law forbids us to let the sun go down on the unburied corpse of a murdered man; and on this occasion we should be the more careful, since (*ἐπεὶ καὶ*) the Sabbath is coming on.' For *ἐπιφώσκειν* in this sense comp. Luke xxiii. 54 *ἡμέρα ἦν παρασκευῆς καὶ σάββατον ἐπέφωσκεν*; and Pet. ix. *τῇ νυκτὶ ᾗ ἐπέφωσκεν ἡ κυριακή*. Peter seems to refer to John xix. 31 *οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἰουδαῖοι, ἐπεὶ παρασκευὴ ἦν, ἵνα μὴ μείνῃ ἐπὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ τὰ σώματα ἐν τῷ σαββάτῳ... ἠρώτησαν τὸν Πειλᾶτον ἵνα κατεαγῶσιν αὐτῶν τὰ σκέλη καὶ ἀρθῶσιν.* It is remarkable that the Peshitto works into this verse the Petrine phrase

αὐτὸν ἐθάπτομεν, ἐπεὶ καὶ σάββατον ἐπιφώσκει· γέγραπται γὰρ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ ἥλιον μὴ δῦναι ἐπὶ πεφονευμένῳ.

III. *Καὶ παρέδωκεν αὐτὸν τῷ λαῷ πρὸ μιᾶς τῶν ἀζύμων, τῆς ἑορτῆς αὐτῶν. οἱ δὲ λαβόντες τὸν κύριον*

5 *τον κ̄ῡ*

ἐπεὶ σάββατον ἐπιφώσκει, rendering *ἐν τῷ σαββάτῳ* by ܡܛܠ ܕܫܒܬܐ, ܢܓܗܐ without support from any Greek MS. So too the Arabic Diatessaron.

2. **γέγραπται γὰρ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ**] Deut. xxi. 23, LXX. *οὐ κοιμηθήσεται τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ ξύλου, ἀλλὰ ταφῇ θάψετε αὐτὸ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ*. Similarly Aq., Symm., Theod. Peter has read into this text the interpretation given to it by the precedent of Jos. x. 27 *πρὸς ἡλίου δυσμὰς...καθεῖλον αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ξύλων*. The *Constitutions* follow Peter (v. 14 *θάπτεται πρὸ ἡλίου δύσεως*), and Epiphanius (*haer*. 66. 79) even cites the Deuteronomic law in this form: *ἔλεγεν ὁ νόμος . . οὐ μὴ δύνῃ ὁ ἥλιος ἐπ' αὐτῷ . . θάψαντες θάψατε αὐτὸν πρὸ δύσεως τοῦ ἡλίου*. The gloss can however be traced back to Philo and Josephus; cf. Phil. *de spec. legg*. 28 *φησί* Μὴ *ἐπιδυέτω ὁ ἥλιος ἀνεσκολοπισμένοις, ἀλλ' ἐπικρυπτέσθωσαν γῇ πρὸ δύσεως καθαιρεθέντες*. Jos. *B. J*. iv. 5. 12 *προσῆλθον δὲ εἰς τοσοῦτον ἀσεβείας ὥστε καὶ ἀτάφους ῥίψαι, καίτοι τοσαύτην Ἰουδαίων περὶ τὰς ταφὰς πρόνοιαν ποιουμένων ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἐκ καταδίκης ἀνασταυρουμένους πρὸ δύντος ἡλίου καθελεῖν τε καὶ θάψαι*. *Πεφονευμένῳ* is strangely attributed to Herod, from whom we should have expected *κεκρεμασμένῳ* or the like; but it agrees with the anti-Judaic tone of the fragment. The Crucifixion was a judicial murder; Acts vii. 52 *τοῦ δικαίου . . φονεῖς ἐγένεσθε*. James v. 6 *ἐφονεύσατε τὸν δίκαιον*.

4. **καὶ παρέδωκεν αὐτὸν κ.τ.λ.**] "And he delivered Him to the people before the first day of unleavened bread, their feast." *Παρέδωκεν* is in Mt., L., J., but the person who delivers the Lord is in the canonical Gospels Pilate; in Peter, Herod. The surrender is to the *people*, who share the guilt of their leaders (Matt. xxvii. 25 *πᾶς ὁ λαός*). *Πρὸ μιᾶς τῶν ἀζύμων = πρὸ πρώτης τ. ἀζ*. (Matt. xxvi. 17, Mark xiv. 12). Peter follows St John's reckoning and makes the first day of the Passover correspond with the Sabbath, and the Crucifixion precede it.

Τῆς ἑορτῆς αὐτῶν also is Johannine, cf. John vi. 4 *τὸ πάσχα ἡ ἑορτὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων*; also v. 1, vii. 2. From Peter the phrase has found its way into the *Didascalia* v. 15 *ἐν αὐτῇ γὰρ ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν τῆς ἑορτῆς τῶν ἀζύμων ἐσταύρωσάν με, κατὰ τὸ προειρημένον ὑπὸ Δαβὶδ* "Ἔθεντο *τὰ σημεῖα αὐτῶν ἐν μέσῳ τῆς ἑορτῆς αὐτῶν* (Ps. lxxiii. = lxxiv. 4, 5). Since the MSS. of the LXX. seem invariably to read *ἐν μέσῳ τῆς ἑορτῆς σου*, it appears that the *Didascalia*, followed by the *Constitutions* (v. 15), has imported the Petrine phrase into the Psalm; unless the change belongs to a primitive interpretation of the Psalm anterior both to the *Didascalia* and to Peter.

In Peter *τῆς ἑορτῆς αὐτῶν* makes a fresh point against the Jews; they committed the murder on the eve of their greatest sacred festival.

5. **οἱ δὲ λαβόντες τὸν κύριον κ.τ.λ.**] The *λαός* are the subject, for *λαβόντες* takes up *παρέδωκεν*—comp. John xix. 16, 17 *παρέδωκεν αὐτὸν αὐτοῖς* (= *τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις*, cf. 14)...*παρέλαβον οὖν τὸν*

ὤθουν αὐτὸν τρέχοντες, καὶ ἔλεγον Cύρωμεν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐξουσίαν αὐτοῦ ἐσχηκότες. καὶ πορφύραν αὐτὸν περιέβαλλον, καὶ ἐκάθισαν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ καθέδραν κρίσεως, λέγοντες Δικαίως κρῖνε, βασιλεῦ τοῦ Ἰσραήλ. καί τις αὐτῶν ἐνεγκὼν στέφανον ἀκάνθινον ἔθηκεν ἐπὶ

1 *αυτων*

Ἰησοῦν. The soldiers are not mentioned by Peter even at the Crucifixion, the Jews being regarded as the real executioners; comp. St Peter's words in Acts ii. 23 *διὰ χειρὸς ἀνόμων προσπήξαντες ἀνείλατε*. *Ὤθουν αὐτὸν τρέχοντες* suggests that what follows takes place on the way to the Cross, which otherwise finds no place in Peter; yet some of the details, *e.g.* the placing of the Lord on the *καθέδρα*, look the other way. The whole scene is in fact foreshortened without regard to historical accuracy. The eagerness of the persecutors implied by *τρέχοντες* was perhaps no uncommon feature in the experience of the second century: comp. *mart. Polyc.* 7 *ἐξῆλθον ὡς ἐπὶ λῃστὴν τρέχοντες*—the spectators wondering why there was *τοσαύτη σπουδὴ ... τοῦ συλληφθῆναι τοιοῦτον πρεσβύτην ἄνδρα*.

1. **Σύρωμεν κ.τ.λ.**] The sequence *ὤθουν .. καὶ ἔλεγον Σ.* is not very felicitous. But *σύρειν* was familiarized by its use in the Acts (viii. 3, xiv. 9, xvii. 6), and is employed on similar occasions by other apocryphal writers, e.g. *Acta Philippi* 15 *βιαίως καὶ ἀπανθρώπως συρομένων αὐτῶν*. Comp. Epiph. *haer.* 76. 1 *συρέντος ὅλην σχεδὸν τὴν πόλιν καὶ οὕτως ἀποθανόντος*. With *ἐξ. αὐτοῦ ἐσχηκότες* comp. John xix. 10, 11.

2. **πορφύραν αὐτὸν περιέβαλλον**] Mark xv. 17 *ἐνδιδύσκουσιν αὐτὸν πορφύραν*. Luke xxiii. 11 *περιβαλὼν ἐσθῆτα λαμπράν*. John xix. 2 *ἱμάτιον πορφυροῦν περιέβαλον αὐτόν*.

3. **ἐκάθισαν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ καθέδραν κρίσεως κ.τ.λ.**] Possibly based upon John xix. 13 *ὁ οὖν Πειλᾶτος...ἤγαγεν ἔξω τὸν Ἰησοῦν, καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἐπὶ βήματος*: for *καθίζειν* trans. comp. 1 Cor. vi. 4, Eph. i. 20. The reference to St John seems to be more direct in Justin *apol.* i. 35 *καὶ γὰρ (ὡς εἶπεν ὁ προφήτης) διασύροντες αὐτὸν ἐκάθισαν ἐπὶ βήματος, καὶ εἶπον Κρῖνον ἡμῖν*. Yet Justin refers to 'the Prophet,' *i.e.* Isaiah lviii. 2 (a passage which he has just quoted) *αἰτοῦσίν με νῦν κρίσιν δικαίαν*. Peter avoids *βῆμα*, preferring perhaps a word of Jewish associations (Ps. cvi. (cvii.) 32 *ἐν καθέδραις πρεσβυτέρων*, Matt. xxiii. 2 *ἐπὶ τῆς Μωυσέως καθέδρας*); and if he has a prophecy in view, it may be Ps. lxxi. (lxxii.) 1, 2 *ὁ θεός, τὸ κρίμα σου τῷ βασιλεῖ δὸς...κρίνειν τὸν λαόν σου ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ*. In Prov. xxiv. 77 (xxxi. 9) we have the exact phrase *κρῖνε δικαίως*; Harnack (*Bruchstücke*, p. 25) points out that this combination appears also in 1 Pet. ii. 23, and compares John vii. 24. *Βασιλεῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων* is the title used by the mockers in Mt., Mk., J.; Peter writes *τοῦ Ἰσραήλ* both here and below, c. iv.; comp. Matt. xxvii. 42, John xii. 13.

5. **καί τις αὐτῶν ἐνεγκὼν κ.τ.λ.**] Peter individualizes where the Synoptic Gospels speak generally; so below (c. v.) *καί τις αὐτῶν εἶπεν Ποτίσατε αὐτόν*. For *στέφανον ἀκάνθινον ἔθηκεν* comp. Mark xv. 17 *περιτιθέασιν αὐτῷ πλέξαντες ἀκάνθινον στέφανον*. *Ἐνέπτυον* is from Mark xv. 19, *ἐράπισαν* from Matt. xxvi. 68 (John xix. 3). *Ταῖς ὄψεσιν* corre-

τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ κυρίου· καὶ ἕτεροι ἑστῶτες ἐνέπτυον αὐτοῦ ταῖς ὄψεσι, καὶ ἄλλοι τὰς σιαγόνας αὐτοῦ ἐράπισαν· ἕτεροι καλάμῳ ἔνυσσον αὐτόν, καί τινες αὐτὸν ἐμάστιζον λέγοντες Ταύτῃ τῇ τιμῇ τιμήσωμεν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ.

IV. Καὶ ἤνεγκον δύο κακούργους, καὶ ἐσταύρωσαν ἀνὰ μέσον αὐτῶν τὸν κύριον· αὐτὸς δὲ ἐσιώπα, ὡς μηδὲν

1 καὶ ἕτεροι...ὄψεσι καὶ] For the most part illegible in the heliotype
2 σιαγόνας ἐράπισαν: obscure   6 ην[εγκον]   7 αυτ[ων τον κ̅ν̅] | μηδένα R., L.

sponds to εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ, Matt. xxvi. 67; for αἱ ὄψεις=οἱ ὀφθαλμοί, comp. Zahn, *Acta Joannis*, 248 ὁ ἐπανοίξας μου τοῦ νοῦ τὰς ὄψεις. Polyb. 3. 79. 12 ἐστερήθη τῆς μιᾶς ὄψεως. Plutarch. *symp.* i. p. 615 D κύκλῳ ταῖς ὄψεσιν ἐπελθὼν τοὺς κατακειμένους. Euseb. *in Esa.* liii. 5 τὰς ὄψεις ῥαπιζόμενος. Τὰς σιαγόνας may look back to Matt. v. 39 ὅστις σε ῥαπίζει εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν σιαγόνα κ.τ.λ., but more probably rests directly on Isaiah l. 6 τὰς δὲ σιαγόνας μου εἰς ῥαπίσματα [ἔδωκα]. Καλάμῳ ἔνυσσον gives a new turn to the canonical ἔτυπτον . . καλάμῳ (Mark xv. 19, cf. Matt. xxvii. 30), combining it with λόγχῃ ἔνυξεν (John xix. 34); cf. *Orac. Sibyll.* viii. 296 πλευρὰς νύξουσιν καλάμῳ. Lastly, ἐμάστιζον seems to refer to John xix. 1 ὁ Πειλᾶτος . . ἐμαστίγωσεν—so serious a punishment was kept by the Procurator in his own hands, but Peter attributes it to the Jews, in agreement with Mark x. 34, &c. For the form μαστίζειν see Acts xxii. 25, and comp. *Constitutions*, v. 6 σταυρῷ μετὰ τὸ μαστιχθῆναι προσηλώθη.

4. **Ταύτῃ τῇ τιμῇ τιμήσωμεν κ.τ.λ.**] "With this honour let us honour" or "At this price let us apprize, the Son of God." There is perhaps a play upon the double sense of τιμή and τιμᾶν. For the first we may compare (with Harnack) Acts xxviii. 10 πολλαῖς τιμαῖς ἐτίμησαν ἡμᾶς, and the proverb in John iv. 44, perhaps also 1 Pet. ii. 6, 7; for the second, Matt. xxvii. 9 τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ τετιμημένου ὃν ἐτιμήσαντο ἀπὸ υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ. St Matthew cites Zech. xi. 13 where the LXX. misses the sense, but Aquila (Euseb. *d. e.* 479) had ὑπερμεγεθὴς ἡ τιμὴ ἣν ἐτιμήθην ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν. The double meaning is recognised in Tertullian *Marc.* iv. 40 "pretium appretiati vel honorati"; comp. also Cyril. *catech.* xiii. 10.

6. **καὶ ἤνεγκον δύο κακούργους κ.τ.λ.**] The Crucifixion follows immediately upon the Mockery. Comp. Luke xxiii. 32 ἤγοντο δὲ καὶ ἕτεροι κακοῦργοι δύο. *Constitutions*, v. 14 δύο κακούργους ἐσταύρωσαν σὺν αὐτῷ. *Ev. Nicod.* i. (A) 10 ἅμα δὲ καὶ τοὺς δύο κακούργους ἐκρέμασαν. In the N. T. κακοῦργος is used only by St Luke and St Paul (2 Tim. ii. 9); St Peter has κακοποιός four times. Ἐσταύρωσαν ἀνὰ μέσον αὐτῶν τὸν κύριον comes nearest to John xix. 18 μέσον δὲ τὸν Ἰησοῦν. Cf. Matt. xiii. 25; Mk. vii. 31.

7. **αὐτὸς δὲ ἐσιώπα, ὡς μηδὲν πόνον ἔχων**] Comp. Matt. xxvi. 63 ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἐσιώπα. The silence of Christ before His judges becomes in Peter a silence at the moment of crucifixion. Peter omits (with ℵ[a]BD*) the first of the words on the Cross, although it seems to have belonged (W. H. *app.* 67 f.) to the 'western' text, and stood (further on) in the Diatessaron. It would not have been in keeping

πόνον ἔχων. καὶ ὅτε ὤρθωσαν τὸν σταυρόν, ἐπέγραψαν ὅτι Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Βασιλεὺς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ. *καὶ τεθεικότες τὰ ἐνδύματα ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ διεμερίσαντο, καὶ λαχμὸν*

1 *πόνον* Z. | ο[....] | *σαν*: *οτι εωρθωσαν* B.: *ὅτε ὤρθ.* R., H., L., Z. | *τον σταυρων* 2 [*βασιλευς*] 3 *εμπ*[*ροσθεν*]

with his anti-Judaic position. But he has another reason for the excision, which is betrayed by his comment on the Lord's silence. The death of the Son of God must be painless; that it was so, is indicated by His silence. Mr Rendel Harris points out to me that the Curetonian Syriac in Luke xxiii. 9 explained *οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίνατο* by adding "as if He were not there"; comp. Cod. Colbert. (*c*) "quasi non audiens." The comparison is instructive; in Peter the gloss is less innocent. Yet Peter's Docetism is so guarded that Origen is able to use similar words in a Catholic sense: *Matt.* 125 "unigenita uirtus nocita non est sicut nec passa est aliquid."

For *πόνος* 'pain,' cf. Gen. xxxiv. 25, Isa. liii. 4, Apoc. xvi. 10, 11, xxi. 4; and for the construction *μηδὲν κ.τ.λ.* see Apoc. iii. 17 *οὐδὲν χρείαν ἔχω*—a reference which I owe to Mr Murray.

1. **ὅτε ὤρθωσαν τὸν σταυρόν**] A detail not in the canonical Gospels, although implied in their account of the bearing of the Cross to the place of execution: cf. also John iii. 14, viii. 28, &c. It does not appear whether Peter regards the Crucified as lifted together with the Cross, or attached to it after the elevation; see Justus Lipsius *de cruce*, p. 82 ff. (ed. 1685). *Ἐώρθωσαν*, if sound, is formed on the analogy of *ἐώθουν, ἑώρακα*, &c.; but the *ε* cannot be detected in the heliographic reproduction of the MS.

2. **Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ**] Mt., *Οὗτός ἐστιν Ἰησοῦς ὁ β. τῶν Ἰουδαίων.* Mk., *Ὁ β. τῶν Ἰουδαίων.* L., *Ὁ β. τῶν Ἰουδαίων οὗτος.* J., *Ἰησοῦς ὁ Ναζωραῖος ὁ β. τῶν Ἰουδαίων.* Peter's *ἐπιγραφή* comes nearest to St Luke's, but differs from all in substituting *τοῦ Ἰσραήλ* for *τῶν Ἰουδ.* The title is regarded as the work of the Jews (*ἐπέγραψαν*), not of Pilate; and the change is consistent with its assumed origin. In Matt. xxvii. 42, Mark xv. 32, the Jews under the Cross speak derisively of "the King of Israel."

3. **τὰ ἐνδύματα...διεμερίσαντο κ.τ.λ.**] Ps. xxi. (xxii.) 19 *διεμερίσαντο τὰ ἱμάτιά μου ἑαυτοῖς, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἱματισμόν μου ἔβαλον κλῆρον.* The words are quoted by St John (xix. 24), and occur with slight variations in each of the Synoptic Gospels. Peter, after his manner, changes something—*ἱμάτια* gives place to *ἐνδύματα*. In common with Mt., Mk., L., he does not distinguish between the *ἱμάτια* and the *ἱματισμός* of the second member of the parallelism, which St John identifies with the *χιτών*. The distinction is ignored by Justin also, although the latter quotes the Psalm, and seems to allude to St John. (See next note.)

καὶ λαχμὸν ἔβαλον ἐπ' αὐτοῖς] Comp. Justin, *dial.* 97 *οἱ σταυρώσαντες αὐτὸν ἐμέρισαν τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ ἑαυτοῖς, λαχμὸν βάλλοντες ἕκαστος κατὰ τὴν τοῦ κλήρου ἐπιβολήν, ὃ ἐκλέξασθαι ἐβεβούλητο.* Cyril of Jerusalem, *catech.* xiii. 26 *οἱ στρατιῶται διεμερίσαντο τὸ περιβόλαιον . . ὁ δὲ χιτὼν οὐκ ἐσχίσθη . . καὶ λαχμὸς περὶ τούτου γίνεται τοῖς στρατιώταις. καὶ τὸ μὲν μερίζονται, περὶ τούτου δὲ λαγχάνουσιν. ἆρα καὶ τοῦτο γέγραπται; ...διεμερίσαντο κ.τ.λ.* (Ps. xxi. *l. c.*) . . *κλῆρος δὲ ἦν ὁ λαχμός.* Cf. *Etymol. magn.* 519. 10 *κλῆρος . . σημαίνει . . ψήφους τινὰς ἐν αἷς ἐσημειοῦντο καὶ*

ἔβαλον ἐπ' αὐτοῖς. εἷς δέ τις τῶν κακούργων ἐκείνων ὠνείδισεν αὐτοὺς λέγων Ἡμεῖς διὰ τὰ κακὰ ἃ ἐποιήσαμεν οὕτω πεπόνθαμεν· οὗτος δὲ σωτὴρ γενόμενος τῶν ἀνθρώπων τί ἠδίκησεν ὑμᾶς; καὶ ἀγανακτήσαντες ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐκέλευσαν ἵνα μὴ σκελοκοπηθῇ, ὅπως βασανιζόμενος ἀποθάνοι.

V. *Ἦν δὲ μεσημβρία, καὶ σκότος κατέσχε πᾶσαν*

1 [*αυτοις*] 2 *ωνειδησεν* 3 *οὗτος*] *ουτως* 6 *ἀποθάνῃ* H.

ἔγραφον τὰ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν, ὅπερ καὶ λαχμὸς λέγεται. The lexx. notice but one other instance of this use of *λαχμός* in Christian literature (Joseph. *hypomnest.* ap. Fabric. *pseud-epigr. V. T.* 144 *ἢ διὰ κλήρων...ἢ διὰ λαχμῶν*); but add Nonn. *paraphr.* p. 202 *λαχμῷ πάντες ἴδοιμεν ἀδηρίτῳ τίνος ἔσται* (J.M.C., *Scottish Guardian*, March 10). It should be observed that Symmachus translated יַפִּילוּ גוֹרָל in the Ps. by *ἐλάγχανον*, and that St John represents the soldiers as saying in reference to the *χιτών*, *Λάχωμεν περὶ αὐτοῦ.*

1. **εἷς δέ τις τῶν κακούργων κ.τ.λ.**] St Luke begins nearly in the same way: *εἷς δὲ τῶν κρεμασθέντων κακούργων.* But Peter's treatment of the incident is widely different. He ignores the impenitent malefactor; he omits the conversation between the penitent and our Lord, and he represents the penitent's reproof as falling not on his comrade, but on the Jews. The speech is clearly an imitation of Luke xxiii. 40, 41 *ἡμεῖς μὲν δικαίως, ἄξια γὰρ ὧν ἐπράξαμεν ἀπολαμβάνομεν· οὗτος δὲ οὐδὲν ἄτοπον ἔπραξεν*: cf. Matt. xxvii. 23 *τί γὰρ κακὸν ἐποίησεν*; In *σωτὴρ γενόμενος* we have an echo of St Luke's *σῶσον σεαυτον καὶ ἡμᾶς* (*v.* 39). But the writer borrows also from Mt. and Mk.; *ὠνείδισεν αὐτούς* is from Matt. xxvii. 44, Mark xv. 32, and *ἵνα μὴ σκελοκοπηθῇ*, while it contradicts a statement of St John, is probably based upon it: see next note.

5. **ἵνα μὴ σκελοκοπηθῇ κ.τ.λ.**] The *crurifragium* was, it seems, employed in crucifixions among the Jews in order to comply with the law of Deut. xxi. Comp. John xix. 31, 32, where an exception is made only in the case of our Lord, because He was already dead (J. Lipsius, p. 109). To have abandoned it in this case would have been to bring about the very infringement of the Law which Peter represents the Jews as anxious to prevent. Either he has overlooked this point, or he means to suggest that their conduct was as shortsighted as it was cruel. In any case he looks upon the *crurifragium* of the crucified as an act of mercy, and this, it has been observed, is regarded by Origen also as one if not the more probable of two alternative aspects of the practice: *Matth.* 140 "miserti sunt ergo Judaei...aut forte non propter misericordiam hoc fecerunt...sed principaliter propter sabbatum"; cf. Nonnus *ad loc.* *Σκελοκοπεῖν* is unknown to the lexicons, but there are exx. of *σκελοκοπία.*

7. **ἦν δὲ μεσημβρία**] Mt., *ἀπὸ δὲ ἕκτης ὥρας*: Mk., *καὶ γενομένης ὥρας ἕκτης*: L., *καὶ ἦν ἤδη ὡσεὶ ὥρα ἕκτη. Μεσημβρία* in this sense occurs in

τὴν Ἰουδαίαν· καὶ ἐθορυβοῦντο καὶ ἠγωνίων μή ποτε ὁ ἥλιος ἔδυ, ἐπειδὴ ἔτι ἔζῃ· γέγραπται αὐτοῖς ἥλιον μὴ δῦναι ἐπὶ πεφονευμένῳ. καί τις αὐτῶν εἶπεν

3 *πεφωνευμενω*

the N. T. only in Acts xxii. 6. In the LXX. it is common, and the word is possibly preferred by Peter on account of its use in Amos viii. 9 *δύσεται ὁ ἥλιος μεσημβρίας καὶ συσκοτάσει ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τὸ φῶς*, a passage which is interpreted as a prophecy of the Three hours' darkness by Euseb. *dem. ev.* p. 486, Cyril of Jerusalem *catech.* xiii. 25, and Cyril of Alexandria, *ad loc.*

σκότος κατέσχε πᾶσαν τὴν Ἰουδαίαν] Mt., *σκότος ἐγένετο ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν* (Mk., L., *ἐφ' ὅλην τὴν γῆν*). For *σκότος κατέσχε* cf. 2 Kings i. 9 *κατέσχεν με σκότος δεινόν*: Origen *Matt.* 134 interprets *τὴν γῆν* with the same reservation: "tenebrae tantummodo super omnem terram Iudaeam sunt factae." Comp. Ciasca, *Tatian*, p. 92 "tenebrae occupaverunt universam terram."

1. **ἐθορυβοῦντο καὶ ἠγωνίων**] For *θορυβεῖσθαι* in this sense comp. Mark v. 39 *τί θορυβεῖσθε καὶ κλαίετε;* Ἀγωνιᾷν is a form unknown to the N. T., but common in Polybius, e.g. 2. 6. 8, 5. 34. 9; in Dan. i. 10 LXX. *ἀγωνιῶ* = *φοβοῦμαι* Theod. The fear was that the sun had already set; for He was yet alive, and the Law would be broken by the Crucified remaining on the Cross after sunset. The repetition of the words *γέγραπται κ.τ.λ.* without a connecting *γάρ* has suggested the idea that in this place they have been brought in from the margin and were not part of the original text. In any case Peter adheres to the interpretation of Deut. xxi. 23 which he has given above (c. ii.).

3. **καί τις αὐτῶν εἶπεν κ.τ.λ.**] Mt., *εἷς ἐξ αὐτῶν*. The best course was now to hasten the death, and it is apparently with this intention that the draught which Peter describes is administered. Origen *Matt.* 137 may have had this in view when he compares the sponge to the writings of unbelievers filled "non de uerbo potabili neque de uino laetificante cor hominis neque de aqua refectionis, sed de aliquo contrario et nociuo et non potabili aceto intelligibili." Nonnus modifies this view of the incident by ascribing the intention to our Lord: *νοήσας* | *ὅττι θοῶς τετέλεστο, θοώτερον ἤθελεν εἶναι.* Peter's account depends here not upon the Gospels, but upon Ps. lxviii. (= lxix.) 22 *καὶ ἔδωκαν εἰς τὸ βρῶμά μου χολήν, καὶ εἰς τὴν δίψαν μου ἐπότισάν με ὄξος* (comp. Origen *l. c.* "sic impleuit prophetiam"). The Psalm is not directly quoted by any of the Evangelists, and the *χολή* is mentioned only in Matt. xxvii. 34, which refers to the draught offered to our Lord before the Crucifixion, and not to that which was administered just before His death: *ἔδωκαν αὐτῷ πιεῖν οἶνον* (*v. l.* *ὄξος*) *μετὰ χολῆς μεμιγμένον.* The combination *ὄξος μετὰ χολῆς* is not unusual (*e.g.* *Constitutions*, v. 14 *ἔδωκαν αὐτῷ ὄξος πιεῖν μετὰ χολῆς*: cf. *Ev. Nicod.* i. (A) 16; for the form suggested by the Psalm compare Barnabas 7 *μέλλετε ποτίζειν χολὴν μετὰ ὄξους*: *Orac. Sibyll.* viii. 303 *ἐς δὲ τὸ βρῶμα χολὴν καὶ πιέμεν ὄξος ἔδωκαν*: *Ev. Nicod.* i. (B) 10 *λαβὼν σπόγγον καὶ πλήσας αὐτὸν χολῆς καὶ ὄξους.* Cyril, who follows Peter in citing the Psalm in this

Ποτίσατε αὐτὸν χολὴν μετὰ ὄξους· καὶ κεράσαντες ἐπότισαν. καὶ ἐπλήρωσαν πάντα, καὶ ἐτελείωσαν κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτῶν τὰ ἁμαρτήματα. περιήρχοντο δὲ πολλοὶ μετὰ λύχνων, νομίζοντες ὅτι νύξ ἐστιν· [τινὲς δὲ] ἐπέσαντο. καὶ ὁ κύριος ἀνεβόησε

1 *ποτίσατε αὐτὸν χολὴν*: obscure 5—6 *νύξ ἐστιν...ἐπέσαντο*] *ἐπέσαντο* may have been re-written: the scribe seems to have begun *νυξεστινεσ*.. R., L., Z. read *ἔπεσάν τε*, H. prefers [*καὶ*] *ἐπέσαντο*: Redpath conjectures *ἐξίσταντο*.

connexion, explains *χολή* as referring to Mark xv. 23 (*catech.* xiii. 29 *χολώδης δὲ καὶ κατάπικρος ἡ σμύρνα*). With *ποτίσατε*.. *χολήν* comp. Jer. viii. 14 *ἐπότισεν ἡμᾶς ὕδωρ χολῆς*, ix. 15 *ποτιῶ αὐτοὺς ὕδωρ χολῆς*.

2. **καὶ ἐπλήρωσαν πάντα κ.τ.λ.**] This fulfilment of Psalm lxix. completed the accomplishment of the Passion-prophecies. The reference is perhaps to John xix. 28 ff. *ἵνα τελειώθῃ ἡ γραφὴ λέγει Διψῶ . . ὅτε οὖν ἔλαβεν τὸ ὄξος ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν Τετέλεσται* (*consummata sunt omnia* in the Arabic Diatessaron; cf. 28 *πάντα τετέλεσται*). St John uses *πληροῦν* of the fulfilment of Scripture in the same context (xix. 24, 36). With *ἐτελείωσαν*.. *τὰ ἁμαρτήματα* comp. Gen. xv. 16 *οὔπω ἀναπεπλήρωνται αἱ ἁμαρτίαι*. Matt. xxiii. 32 *πληρώσατε τὸ μέτρον*. 1 Thess. ii. 16 *εἰς τὸ ἀναπληρῶσαι αὐτῶν τὰς ἁμαρτίας*. See Barn. xiv. 5 *ἵνα κἀκεῖνοι τελειωθῶσιν τοῖς ἁμαρτήμασιν*. *Didasc.* v. 17 *ἐτέλεσαν τὴν πονηρίαν αὐτῶν*. *Κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς* probably refers to Matt. xxvii. 25 *ἐφ' ἡμᾶς*: cf. Acts xviii. 6, and for the exact phrase 1 Cor. xi. 4.

3. **περιήρχοντο δὲ πολλοὶ μετὰ λύχνων κ.τ.λ.**] *Anaph. Pilati* (B) 7 *ἐν παντὶ τῷ κόσμῳ ἧψαν λύχνους ἀπὸ ἕκτης ὥρας ἕως ὀψίας*. With *νομίζοντες ὅτι νύξ ἐστιν* compare *Orac. Sibyll.* viii. 305—6 *ἤματι μέσσῳ | νὺξ ἔσται σκοτόεσσα*: *Didasc.* v. 14 *ἔπειτα ἐγένετο τρεῖς ὥρας σκότος καὶ ἐλογίσθη νύξ*. Euseb. *d. e.* p. 487 *ἡμέρας οὔσης νὺξ ἀπὸ ὥρας ἕκτης τὸ περιέχον συνέσχε μέχρι τῆς ἐνάτης*. Cyril. *catech.* xiii. 24 *σκότος ἐγένετο ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μέσῃ ... ὠνόμασε δὲ ὁ θεὸς τὸ σκότος νύκτα*. The *Didascalia* reveals a motive for the stress laid upon the night-like character of the darkness; if the three hours were counted as a night, it was possible to maintain the literal accuracy of Matt. xii. 40. Reference is also made to Amos viii. 9, Zech. xiv. 6, 7. Ἐπέσαντο has caused much difficulty. Prof. Robinson at once suggested a reference to John xviii. 6 and to Isaiah lix. 10 *πεσοῦνται ἐν μεσημβρίᾳ*, and if the word is sound, the latter passage is almost certainly in view. See however the critical note.

5. **ὁ κύριος ἀνεβόησε κ.τ.λ.**] The silence is broken at length by a loud cry: Matt. xxvii. 46 *ἀνεβόησεν* (*ἐβόησεν* BL, 33, al., so Mk.) *ὁ Ἰησοῦς φωνῇ μεγάλῃ*. The words of the cry in the Petrine fragment depart widely from those in Mt. and Mk., as well as from the original; *ὁ θεός* (=*θεέ* Mk.) becomes *ἡ δύναμις*, the second *μου* and *ἵνα τί* (*εἰς τί* Mk.) disappear, *ἐγκατέλιπες* is replaced by *κατέλειψας* (cf. Acts vi. 3). The variants of the LXX. throw no light on any of these changes, nor is the Fourth Word cited in any but the canonical form by the great writers of the second and third centuries. Eusebius indeed throws light on the substitution of *δύναμις* for *θεός*; after remarking (*dem. ev.* p. 494) that the Heb. has אֵלִי and not אֱלֹהַי he points

λέγων Ἡ δύναμίς μου, ἡ δύναμις, κατέλειψάς με· *καὶ εἰπὼν ἀνελήφθη. καὶ αὐτῆς [τῆς] ὥρας διεράγη τὸ καταπέτασμα τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Ἰερουσαλὴμ εἰς δύο.*

2 *αὐτῆς τῆς ὥρας*] *αυτος ωρας*: *αὐτῆς τῆς ὥ.* R., H., Z., *αὐτῆς ὥρας* L.

out that Aquila alone recognised the distinction: *οὐκ ἠξίωσεν ὁμοίως τοῖς λοιποῖς* ὁ θεός ὁ θεός μου *μεταβαλὼν εἰπεῖν, ἀλλά* ἰσχυρέ μου ἰσχυρέ μου —adding *τὸ δὲ ἀκριβές ἐστιν* ἰσχύς μου ἰσχύς μου. The Lord, Eusebius adds, would not have died, unless His Strong One (*i.e.* the Father) had left Him: *καταλέλοιπεν οὖν αὐτὸν ὁ Ἰσχυρὸς αὐτοῦ, θελήσας αὐτὸν μέχρι θανάτου.. κατελθεῖν.* For אֵל = *δύναμις* comp. Justin, *dial.* 125 *τὸ οὖν Ἰσραὴλ ὄνομα τοῦτο σημαίνει Ἄνθρωπος νικῶν δύναμιν· τὸ γὰρ Ἰσρά ἄνθρωπος νικῶν ἐστι, τὸ δὲ ἢλ δύναμις*: and the O. T. phrase יֶשׁ־(אֵין) לְאֵל יָדִי (Gen. xxxi. 29, Prov. iii. 27, Mic. ii. 1, Neh. v. 5 where the LXX. has *οὐκ ἔστιν δύναμις χειρὸς ἡμῶν*). But אֵל may have been confused with חַיִל, and if so, Aquila's *ἰσχύς* was, as Eusebius says, *ἀκριβές*: *δύναμις* is the LXX. rendering of חַיִל in about 150 places. Cf. Theodoret. *haer. fabb.* v. 4 *τὸ δὲ ηλ ψιλούμενον μὲν καὶ αὐτὸ δηλοῖ τὸν θεόν, δασυνόμενον δὲ τὸν ἰσχυρόν.* More remarkable is Peter's conversion of the question into a direct statement by the omission of *ἵνα τί.* I can produce only one parallel: Ephraim tells us (*serm. adv. haer.* 56) that at the assemblies of a Gnostic sect which he connects with the name of Bardaisan a hymn was sung in which a female voice recited the words ܐܠܗܝ ܘܪܫܝ ܫܒܩܬܢܝ ܒܠܚܘܕܝ "My God and my Head, thou hast left me alone." (I owe the ref. to D. C. B. I. 253.) A Valentinian party mentioned by Irenaeus (i. 8. 2) taught that the Lord *ἐν μὲν τῷ εἰπεῖν Ὁ θεός μου* [Lat. *Deus meus Deus meus*] *εἰς τί ἐγκατέλιπές με; μεμηνυκέναι ὅτι ἀπελείφθη ἀπὸ τοῦ φωτὸς ἡ Σοφία καὶ ἐκωλύθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Ὅρου τῆς εἰς τοὔμπροσθεν ὁρμῆς.* But the original form of the word is here retained.

1. **καὶ εἰπὼν ἀνελήφθη**] Comp. 'Mark' xvi. 19 *ὁ μὲν οὖν κύριος μετὰ τὸ λαλῆσαι αὐτοῖς ἀνελήμφθη.* Peter removes the *ἀνάληψις* to the moment of death, and the expression has been adopted by Origen *Matt.* 140 "statim ut clamavit ad Patrem receptus est...post tres horas receptus est"; the Greek is lost, but *receptus est* is the O. L. rendering of *ἀνελήμφθη* in Irenaeus and in the Munich Gospels known as *q* (White, p. 137). With Peter's view of this *ἀνάληψις* comp. Clem. Alex. *exc. Theod.* § 61 *ἀπέθανεν δὲ ἀποστάντος τοῦ καταβάντος ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ πνεύματος.*

2. **διεράγη τὸ καταπέτασμα κ.τ.λ.**] Cyril. *catech.* xiii. 32 *τὸ καταπέτασμα τοῦ ναοῦ.. διερρήξατο. Ib.* 39 *τὸ τότε διαρραγέν.* Jerome *in Matt.* xxvii. "in euangelio cuius saepe facimus mentionem [eu. sec. Hebraeos] superliminare templi infinitae magnitudinis fractum esse atque diuisum legimus." *Τῆς Ἰερουσαλὴμ* is one of several indications that the fragment was written outside Palestine, or at all events for non-Palestinian readers.

VI. *Καὶ τότε ἀπέσπασαν τοὺς ἥλους ἀπὸ τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ κυρίου, καὶ ἔθηκαν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς· καὶ ἡ γῆ πᾶσα ἐσείσθη καὶ φόβος μέγας ἐγένετο. τότε ἥλιος ἔλαμψε καὶ εὑρέθη ὥρα ἐνάτη. ἐχάρησαν δὲ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ δεδώκασι τῷ Ἰωσὴφ τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ἵνα αὐτὸ θάψῃ, ἐπειδὴ θεασάμενος ἦν ὅσα ἀγαθὰ ἐποίησεν.*

3 *ἐγένετο*] 1ª m. *εγενετε*   5 *ινι*

1. **καὶ τότε ἀπέσπασαν τοὺς ἥλους κ.τ.λ.**] With *καὶ τότε* comp. c. i. The Fourth Gospel alone mentions the *ἧλοι* and, like Peter, mentions them only in connexion with the Hands. So Cyril. *catech.* xiii. 28 *ἐξέτεινεν ἀνθρωπίνας χεῖρας...καὶ προσεπάγησαν ἥλοις.* On the other hand Justin, referring to Ps. xxi. (xxii.) 17, writes (*dial.* 97) *ἐσταύρωσαν αὐτὸν ἐμπήσσοντες τοὺς ἥλους τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ ὤρυξαν*: *infra*, *πόδας καὶ χεῖρας ὠρύγη.*

2. **ἔθηκαν...ἐσείσθη**] 'When the Lord's Body was laid upon the earth, the whole earth quaked.' The incident is mentioned only by St Matthew (xxvii. 51), who however connects it with the Death, and not with the preparation for Burial. Πᾶσα (which is not in Matt.) suggests a reference to Jer. viii. 16 *ἐσείσθη πᾶσα ἡ γῆ*: comp. *Ev. Nicod.* i. (B) 11 *σεισμὸς γὰρ ἐγένετο ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἅπασαν.*

3. **καὶ φόβος μέγας ἐγένετο**] Matt. xxvii. 54 *ὁ δὲ ἑκατόνταρχος καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ ... ἰδόντες τὸν σεισμὸν καὶ τὰ γινόμενα ἐφοβήθησαν σφόδρα.*

τότε ἥλιος ἔλαμψε κ.τ.λ.] Cyril. *catech.* xiii. 24 *μετὰ τὴν ἐνάτην ἔλαμψεν ὁ ἥλιος· προλέγει καὶ τοῦτο ὁ προφήτης* (Zech. xiv. 7) *Καὶ πρὸς ἑσπέραν ἔσται φῶς.* Ephraim, *evang. concord. exp.* p. 257 "tres horas sol obtenebratus est et postea denuo luxit." Once more the *gnomon* shewed the hour, and it was seen to be (*εὕρεθη*) 3 p.m. The fact came to the Jews with the force of a discovery, so impressed had they been with the belief that it was night.

4. **ἐχάρησαν δὲ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι κ.τ.λ.**] The Jewish leaders rejoiced, whether at the reappearance of the Sun, the frustration of their fears that the Law would be broken (c. v.), or the success of their murderous design; if the last, comp. John xvi. 21 *ὁ δὲ κόσμος χαρήσεται.* In their joy they place no difficulty in Joseph's way; *δεδώκασι* implies that the power to refuse was really in their hands, notwithstanding Herod's jurisdiction (cf. c. ii.); for the perfect, cf. c. viii. (*παραδέδωκεν*). Ἐπειδὴ *θεασάμενος... ἐποίησεν* must be taken as a jeer: 'Joseph had been a disciple, he had witnessed all the good deeds of the Crucified; let him bury the Body if he would'; unless we accept the suggestion of Mr Nicholson (*Academy*, Dec. 17), that the words were originally a marginal note attached to the story of the penitent thief, and were afterwards shifted into the margin of the present passage and from thence into the text. But this explanation seems unnecessary. In their lightheartedness the Scribes and Priests indulge themselves in heartless banter at the expense of Joseph. The words appear to have been suggested by John xi. 45 *θεασάμενος ὃ* (*v. l.* *ἃ*) *ἐποίησεν*: comp. Acts ix. 36 *ἦν πλήρης ἔργων ἀγαθῶν..ὧν ἐποίει.*

λαβὼν δὲ τὸν κύριον ἔλουσε καὶ εἴλησε σινδόνι καὶ εἰσήγαγεν εἰς ἴδιον τάφον καλούμενον Κῆπον Ἰωσήφ.

VII. *Τότε οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς, γνόντες οἷον κακὸν ἑαυτοῖς ἐποίησαν, ἤρξαντο κόπτεσθαι καὶ λέγειν Οὐαὶ ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ἡμῶν·*

1 *εἴλησε*] *ἐνείλησε* H., Z. | *σινδονιν* 3 *οἱ ἱερεῖς*] *οιερεις* 4 [*κακον εα*]*υτοις* | [*η*]*ρξ*[*α*]*ντο κοπτε*[*σ*]*θ*[*αι*]

1. **λαβὼν δὲ τὸν κύριον κ.τ.λ.**] Matt. xxvii. 59 *καὶ λαβὼν τὸ σῶμα*, John xix. 40 *ἔλαβον τὸ σῶμα*. Comp. John xx. 2 *ἦραν τὸν κύριον ἐκ τοῦ μνημείου*. For *ἔλουσε* see Acts ix. 37 *λούσαντες δὲ ἔθηκαν ἐν ὑπερῴῳ*. *Εἴλησε σινδόνι* is from Mark xv. 46 *ἐνείλησεν τῇ σινδόνι*: Mt., L., have *ἐνετύλιξεν* [*ἐν*] *σινδ.*, J. has *ἔδησαν ὀθονίοις*.

2. **εἰσήγαγεν ... Κῆπον Ἰωσήφ**] Ε*θηκεν αὐτὸ*[*ν*] (so all the Synoptists) *ἐν τῷ καινῷ αὐτοῦ μνημείῳ* (Mk.). *Τάφος* is used by Mt. just afterwards (xxvii. 61, xxviii. 1). *Ἦν δὲ* (adds St John xix. 41) *ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ὅπου ἐσταυρώθη κῆπος, καὶ ἐν τῷ κήπῳ μνημεῖον καινόν... ἐκεῖ οὖν...ὅτι ἐγγὺς ἦν τὸ μνημεῖον ἔθηκαν Ἰησοῦν*. In the Diatessaron these words intervene between Mark xv. 46 and Matt. xxvii. 60. Peter's *κῆπος καλούμενος κ.τ.λ.* may have arisen simply from a desire to convey the impression of independent knowledge; yet Harnack's question should be kept in view: "war der *κῆπος* 'I. zur Zeit des Verfassers etwa eine bekannte Localität?" Comp. Acts i. 19 *γνωστὸν ἐγένετο πᾶσι τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν Ἰερουσαλήμ, ὥστε κληθῆναι τὸ χωρίον ἐκεῖνο...Χωρίον αἵματος*.

3. **τότε οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι κ.τ.λ.**] The momentary joy is changed into general mourning, in which for different reasons the Jewish leaders (c. vii.), the Disciples (*ib.*), and the whole people (c. viii.), take part. There is again a reference to prophecy: comp. Amos viii. 10 *μεταστρέψω τὰς ἑορτὰς ὑμῶν εἰς πένθος καὶ πάσας τὰς ᾠδὰς ὑμῶν εἰς θρῆνον...ὡς πένθος ἀγαπητοῦ*. Eusebius (*d. e.* p. 486) interprets Amos *l.c.* in a wider sense: *ἐξ ἐκείνου καὶ εἰς δεῦρο μετέστρεψεν αὐτῶν ὁ θεὸς τὰς ἑορτὰς εἰς πένθος...τῆς περιβοήτου μητροπόλεως ἀποστερήσας αὐτοὺς κ.τ.λ.* Cyril however (*catech.* xiii. 25) follows Peter: *ἐν ἀζύμοις γὰρ ἦν τὸ πραχθὲν καὶ τῇ τοῦ πάσχα ἑορτῇ*, and proceeds to describe the grief of the Apostles and the women. 'The Jews' are the Elders and Priests: cf. c. viii. *οἱ γραμματεῖς καὶ Φαρισαῖοι καὶ πρεσβύτεροι*: *infra*, *οἱ πρεσβ.*, *πρεσβ. καὶ γραμματεῖς*: comp. Matt. xxvii. 41 *οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς.. μετὰ τῶν γραμματέων καὶ πρεσβυτέρων*, 62 *οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι*, xxviii. 11 *τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσιν...μετὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων*.

4. **ἤρξαντο κόπτεσθαι καὶ λέγειν Οὐαὶ κ.τ.λ.**] The words attributed to the leaders are substantially those which are put into the mouth of the *ὄχλοι* in some early versions of Luke xxiii. 48: the Curetonian Syriac inserts there ܘܝ ܠܢ ܡܢܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܢ. ܘܝ ܠܢ ܡܢ ܚ̈ܛܗܝܢ (comp. the *Doctrine of Addai*, Cureton, *Ancient Syriac Documents*, pp. 9, 10), and in a fuller form, closely akin to that which seems to have been known to Peter, they occur in the O.L. cod. Sangermanensis (g^1) "uae nobis quae facta sunt hodie propter peccata nostra, appropinquauit enim desolatio Hierusalem." That the words in some form stood in the text of Tatian is probable from Ephraim's comment

ἤγγισεν ἡ κρίσις καὶ τὸ τέλος Ἰερουσαλήμ. ἐγὼ δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἑταίρων μου ἐλυπούμην, καὶ τετρωμένοι κατὰ διάνοιαν ἐκρυβόμεθα· ἐζητούμεθα γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὡς κακοῦργοι καὶ ὡς τὸν ναὸν θέλοντες ἐμπρῆσαι· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις πᾶσιν ἐνηστεύομεν, καὶ ἐκαθεζόμεθα πενθοῦντες καὶ κλαίοντες νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ἕως τοῦ σαββάτου.

2—3 *κ[ατα δια]νοιαν*   4 *ε[μπρησαι]*   5 *εκα[θεζομε]θα*

ev. conc. p. 248 "quia uox prima ludibrium erat in ore eorum...uox altera *Uae* facta est in ore eorum et complosio manuum in pectore eorum"; further on E. refers to the prophets who 'foretold the destruction of their city' (cf. *infra*, p. 252). The genesis of the interpolation is hardly doubtful. *Οὐαί* is the natural accompaniment of *κοπετός*, comp. 3 Kings xiii. 30 *ἐκόψαντο αὐτόν Οὐαὶ ἀδελφέ*, and would soon assert its right to follow *τύπτοντες τὰ στήθη*. Or it may have alluded to a prophetic *locus classicus*; Cyril. *catech.* xiii. 12 refers to Isa. iii. 9 *οὐαὶ τῇ ψυχῇ αὐτῶν ὅτι βεβούλευνται βουλὴν πονηρὰν καθ' ἑαυτῶν* (cf. p. 12, l. 4). The next step would be to add the words *ἤγγισεν ἡ κρίσις* or *ἡ ἐρήμωσις* or *τὸ τέλος Ἰερουσαλήμ*, or some combination of them founded on Dan. ix. 2, 26 or on Luke xxi. 20 (comp. Apoc. xviii. 10, 19 *οὐαὶ οὐαὶ ἡ πόλις ἡ μεγάλη ...ἦλθεν ἡ κρίσις σου...ἠρημώθη*). Such words would have acquired a special force in reference to Jerusalem at the time of the final crushing out of the Jewish national life under Hadrian.

1. **ἐγὼ δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἑταίρων κ.τ.λ.**] The personal character of the narrative appears here; cf. *infra*, c. xii. *ἐγὼ Σίμων Πέτρος*. Comp. *Constitutions* ii. 46, iv. 7, v. 7, vi. 12, vii. 11. *Ἑταῖρος* is not used in the N. T. as = *συμμαθητής* (John xi. 16). With *ἐλυπούμην* comp. John xvi. 20 and Pet. xii. *Τετρωμένοι κατὰ διάνοιαν*, again, is not in the style of the N.T., but a similar phrase occurs in 2 Macc. iii. 16; comp. Diod. Sic. 17. 112 *οἱονεὶ τετρωμένος τὴν ψυχήν*. *Ἐκρυβόμεθα* may have been suggested by John viii. 59, xii. 36 (cf. xix. 38), or by the incident of John xx. 19; it is copied by Cyril. *catech.* xiii. 25 *ὠδυνῶντο δὲ ἀποκρυβέντες οἱ ἀπόστολοι*.

3. **ἐζητούμεθα γὰρ κ.τ.λ.**] Comp. Matt. xxii. 7 *ἀπώλεσεν τοὺς φονεῖς ἐκείνους καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν ἐνέπρησεν*. Ephraim *l.c.* "sanctuarium combustum et templum dirutum est." That the Apostles had designs upon the Temple might well have been inferred from the language attributed to the Master (Mark xiv. 58, xv. 29; cf. Acts vi. 13, 14).

4. **ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις πᾶσιν ἐνηστεύομεν**] 'To add to our troubles we were keeping fast.' Mark ii. 20 *ἐλεύσονται δὲ ἡμέραι ὅταν ἀπαρθῇ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὁ νυμφίος καὶ τότε νηστεύσουσιν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ* (L., *ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις*). *Constit.* v. 19 *ἡμεῖς ἐνηστεύσαμεν ἐν τῷ ἀναλημφθῆναι αὐτὸν ἀφ' ἡμῶν*. The *Didascalia* (v. 14) represents the Paschal meal as having been eaten on Tuesday evening (*τῇ γὰρ τρίτῃ ἑσπέρας σὺν ὑμῖν τὸ πάσχα ἔφαγον*), and followed the same night by the arrest, after which the Lord is kept in ward for two days before the Crucifixion. If this was Peter's view, the third day of the fast had already come.

5. **ἐκαθεζόμεθα πενθ. καὶ κλαίοντες κ.τ.λ.**] Neh. i. 4 *ἐκάθισα καὶ ἔκλαυσα καὶ ἐπένθησα ἡμέρας καὶ ἤμην νηστεύων*. Ps. cxxxvi. (cxxxvii.) 1 *ἐκαθίσαμεν*

VIII. *Συναχθέντες δὲ οἱ γραμματεῖς καὶ Φαρισαῖοι καὶ πρεσβύτεροι πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἀκούσαντες ὅτι ὁ λαὸς ἅπας γογγύζει καὶ κόπτεται τὰ στήθη λέγοντες ὅτι Εἰ τῷ θανάτῳ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα τὰ μέγιστα σημεῖα γέγονεν, ἴδετε ὅτι πόσον δίκαιός ἐστιν· ἐφοβήθησαν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, καὶ ἦλθον πρὸς Πειλᾶτον δεόμενοι αὐτοῦ καὶ λέγοντες Παράδος ἡμῖν στρατιώτας, ἵνα φυλάξω[μεν] τὸ μνῆμα αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας, μή ποτε ἐλθόντες οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ κλέψωσιν αὐτὸν καὶ ὑπολάβῃ ὁ λαὸς ὅτι ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνέστη, καὶ ποιήσωσιν ἡμῖν κακά. ὁ δὲ*

5 *ὅτι πόσον*] *ὅποσον* H., Z. 7 *φυλαξω*: *φυλάξω[σι]* R., Z., *φυλάξω[μεν]* H., L. 8 *ημ[ερας]*

καὶ ἐκλαύσαμεν. Thren. i. 1 *ἐκάθισεν Ἱερεμίας κλαίων καὶ ἐθρήνησεν.* John xi. 20 *ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ ἐκαθέζετο.* The order *πενθεῖν καὶ κλαίειν* occurs in Mark xvi. 10, James iv. 9. *Ἕως τοῦ σαββάτου* may refer to the Paschal Sabbath which was now at hand, or possibly to the Sabbath of Easter week (*infra*, c. xii.); in the former case *νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας* looks back to the interval between the arrest and the night of Good Friday.

1. **συναχθέντες δὲ...ἦλθον πρὸς Πειλᾶτον**] Matt. xxvii. 62 *συνήχθησαν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι πρὸς Πειλᾶτον* (cf. xxviii. 12). In Mt. the gathering takes place on the Sabbath (*τῇ...ἐπαύριον ἥτις ἐστὶν μετὰ τὴν παρασκευήν*), and the party seem to go to Pilate without previous conference. With *συναχθ. πρὸς ἀλλήλους* compare Acts iv. 15 *συνέβαλλον πρὸς ἀλλήλους.* Peter adds a new reason for these fears—the changed attitude of the populace.

3. **ὁ λαὸς ἅπας γογγύζει καὶ κόπτεται τὰ στήθη κ.τ.λ.**] Luke xxiii. 48 *πάντες οἱ συνπαραγενόμενοι ὄχλοι ἐπὶ τὴν θεωρίαν ταύτην, θεωρήσαντες τὰ γενόμενα, τύπτοντες τὰ στήθη ὑπέστρεφον.* John vii. 32 *ἤκουσαν οἱ Φαρισαῖοι τοῦ ὄχλου γογγύζοντος περὶ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα.* Peter throws the *γογγυσμός* into words which combine L.'s version of the Centurion's confession (*ὄντως ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὗτος δίκαιος ἦν*) with a reference to the phaenomena that attended the Crucifixion (*ταῦτα τὰ μέγιστα σημεῖα*). *Κόπτεται τὰ στήθη* mixes the two phrases *κόπτεσθαί [τινα]* (Luke xxiii. 27) and *τύπτειν τὰ στήθη*. *Ἴδετε ὅτι πόσον* is a conflate of *ἴδετε ὅτι* and *ἴδετε πόσον*, whether due to the writer himself or to the copyists.

7. **στρατιώτας**] The first mention in the fragment of the Roman soldiers. No part has been assigned to them either in the mockery or at the Crucifixion. Mt. speaks here of a *κουστωδία* xxvii. 65, 66; but cf. xxviii. 13 *τοῖς στρατιώταις.* *Ἵνα φυλάξωμεν* (? *φυλάξωσι*: MS., *φυλάξω*) κ.τ.λ. Comp. Mt. *κέλευσον οὖν ἀσφαλισθῆναι τὸν τάφον ἕως τῆς τρίτης ἡμέρας, μή ποτε ἐλθόντες οἱ μαθηταὶ [αὐτοῦ] κλέψωσιν αὐτὸν καὶ εἴπωσιν τῷ λαῷ Ἠγέρθη ἀπὸ τῶν νεκρῶν* with *ποιήσωσιν...κακά*, and *supra* (c. vii.) *οἷον κακὸν ἑαυτοῖς ἐποίησαν.*

Πειλᾶτος παραδέδωκεν αὐτοῖς Πετρώνιον τὸν κεντυρίωνα μετὰ στρατιωτῶν φυλάσσειν τὸν τάφον. καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς ἦλθον πρεσβύτεροι καὶ γραμματεῖς ἐπὶ τὸ μνῆμα, καὶ κυλίσαντες λίθον μέγαν κατὰ τοῦ κεντυρίωνος καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὁμοῦ πάντες οἱ ὄντες ἐκεῖ ἔθηκαν ἐπὶ τῇ θύρᾳ τοῦ μνήματος, καὶ ἐπέχρισαν ἑπτὰ σφραγῖδας,

2 *στρατιωτον* 4 *κατὰ*] *μετὰ* R., H., L., Z. 6 *επεχρεισαν*

1. **Πετρώνιον τὸν κεντυρίωνα**] The traditional name of the centurion at the Cross was Longinus (*Ev. Nicod.* i. (B) 11 Λογγῖνος ὁ ἑκατόνταρχος ἱστάμενος εἶπεν Ἀληθῶς θεοῦ υἱὸς ἦν οὗτος). A Spaniard named Oppius is mentioned in the same connexion by Dexter, *Chron.* a. 34. Peter, who transfers the centurion to the Tomb, finds another name for him. Πετρώνιος, *Petronius*, is of frequent occurrence in inscriptions of the time of the early Empire, and is familiar to readers of Josephus (*Ant.* xviii. 8. 2, *B. J.* ii. 10) as the name of the governor of Syria who was charged by Caligula with the task of setting up the Emperor's statue in the Temple. But its use by Peter may have been suggested by the similarity in sound of Πετρώνιος and Πέτρος. Petronilla is the legendary name of St Peter's daughter (Lightfoot, *Clement*, i. 37). Peter writes κεντυρίων here and *infra* (cc. ix., x.) in preference to ἑκατόνταρχος. So St Mark (xv. 39, 44, 45): cf. *mart. Polyc.* 18.

2. **σὺν αὐτοῖς ἦλθον πρεσβύτεροι κ.τ.λ.**] Matt. xxvii. 65 *οἱ δὲ πορευθέντες ἠσφαλίσαντο τὸν τάφον σφραγίσαντες τὸν λίθον μετὰ τῆς κουστωδίας.* Peter accentuates the cooperation of the Jewish leaders; *infra* (c. ix.) *παρῆσαν γὰρ αὐτοὶ φυλάσσοντες.* Μνῆμα is St Luke's word (xxiii. 53, xxiv. 1).

4. **κυλίσαντες λίθον μέγαν κ.τ.λ.**] In Mt., Mk. this is attributed to Joseph (*προσκυλίσας λίθον μέγαν τῇ θύρᾳ τοῦ μνημείου ἀπῆλθεν* = *προσεκύλισεν λίθον ἐπὶ τὴν θύραν τοῦ μνημείου*). But to roll to the door the great stone (*μέγας σφόδρα,* Mark xvi. 4) which was afterwards to be rolled away by superhuman power, seemed to need greater strength than that of an individual, and Peter therefore ascribes it to the combined efforts of the members of the Sanhedrin and of the guard (*πάντες οἱ ὄντες ἐκεῖ*). Comp. the reading of D in Luke xxiii. 53 *ἐπέθηκεν τῷ μνημείῳ λίθον ὃν μόγις εἴκοσι ἐκύλιον* and the parallels in Cod. Colbert. (*quem vix viginti volvebant*) and Theb. (J. R. Harris, *Study of Codex Bezae*, pp. 47—51). *Κατὰ τοῦ κ. καὶ τῶν στρ.* 'to exclude the Centurion and soldiers,' who might be bribed to deliver the Body to the disciples. The watch of course are not cognisant of this purpose.

6. **ἐπέχρισαν ἑπτὰ σφραγῖδας**] Mt. simply *σφραγίσαντες.* For *ἐπέχρισαν* comp. John ix. 6, 11 *ἐπέχρισεν* (BC*vid *ἐπέθηκεν*) *αὐτοῦ τὸν πηλὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς*: *πηλὸν ἐποίησεν καὶ ἐπέχρισέν μου τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς.* Lucian (*πῶς δεῖ ἱστ. συγγρ.* 62): *ἐπιχρίσας ...τιτάνῳ καὶ ἐπικαλύψας ἐπέγραψε τοὔνομα τοῦ τότε βασιλεύοντος.* For the number of the seals comp. Acts xii. 10 (D) *κατέβησαν τοὺς ζ' βαθμοὺς* and Apoc. v. 1 *βιβλίον...κατεσφραγισμένον σφραγῖσιν ἑπτά.* But Peter may also have in view Zech. iii. 9 *ἐπὶ τὸν λίθον τὸν ἕνα ἑπτὰ ὀφθαλμοί*

καὶ σκηνὴν ἐκεῖ πήξαντες ἐφύλαξαν. πρωίας δέ, ἐπιφώσκοντος τοῦ σαββάτου, ἦλθεν ὄχλος ἀπὸ Ἰερουσαλὴμ καὶ τῆς περιχώρου ἵνα ἴδωσι τὸ μνημεῖον ἐσφραγισμένον.

IX. *Τῇ δὲ νυκτὶ ᾗ ἐπέφωσκεν ἡ κυριακή, φυλασσόντων τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀνὰ δύο δύο κατὰ φρουράν,*

5 *ηι*

εἰσιν. iv. 10 *ἑπτὰ οὗτοι ὀφθαλμοί εἰσιν οἱ ἐπιβλέποντες ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν*: cf. Apoc. v. 6. The 'seven seals' not only constitute a perfect safeguard, but probably belong to the symbolical teaching of the fragment.

1. **σκηνὴν ἐκεῖ πήξαντες ἐφύλαξαν**] Matt. xvii. 4 *ποιήσω ὧδε τρεῖς σκηνάς* (cf. Mk., L.). Heb. viii. 2 *σκηνῆς...ἣν ἔπηξεν ὁ κύριος.*

πρωίας δὲ κ.τ.λ.] The rumour that the tomb was sealed and guarded had reached the City and suburbs during the night, and early on the Sabbath morning crowds came to see it. Comp. John xii. 9 *ὁ ὄχλος... ἦλθαν ... ἵνα ... ἴδωσιν.* **Περίχωρος Ἰερουσαλήμ** (פֶּלֶךְ יְרוּשָׁלִַם) occurs Neh. iii. 9, 12; comp. Acts xiv. 6 *Δέρβην καὶ τὴν περίχωρον.* 'Joseph's Garden' is according to Peter outside the city, yet within a Sabbath day's journey.

5. **τῇ δὲ νυκτὶ ᾗ ἐπέφωσκεν ἡ κυριακή**] With the exception of the incident just related, the Sabbath hours of daylight are passed by without remark, as in the canonical Gospels. The thread of the story is taken up again on Saturday night. Comp. Matt. xxviii. 1 *ὀψὲ δὲ σαββάτων τῇ ἐπιφωσκούσῃ εἰς μίαν σαββάτων.* The other Gospels represent the Sabbath as past, as it was in fact when the women arrived (Mk. *διαγενομένου τοῦ σαββάτου*, L. *τῇ δὲ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων*). For *ἡ κυριακή* = *ἡ μία τῶν σαββάτων* see Apoc. i. 10 *ἐγενόμην ἐν πνεύματι ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ ἡμέρᾳ* (where however the sense is disputed). *Didach.* 14 *κατὰ κυριακὴν δὲ Κυρίου συναχθέντες κλάσατε ἄρτον.* Ign. *Magn.* 9 *μηκέτι σαββατίζοντες, ἀλλὰ κατὰ κυριακὴν ζῶντες.* In Barnabas 15 the day is *ἡ ἡμέρα ἡ ὀγδόη*, in Justin *apol.* i. 67 *ἡ τοῦ ἡλίου λεγομένη*, but Barnabas is contrasting the eighth day with the seventh, and Justin's words are addressed to pagan readers. It is noticeable that as Peter uses the term, an anachronism is involved. The *Didascalia* avoids this error, v. 14 *τῇ νυκτὶ τῇ ἐπιφωσκούσῃ τῇ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων.* Comp. on the other hand *Ev. Nicod.* i. (B) 12, where the Jews say to Joseph, *Τῇ κυριακῇ πρωὶ θανάτῳ παραδοθήσῃ.* Zahn remarks (p. 19): "die feste Ausprägung des Namens *ἡ κυριακή* tritt uns völlig klar und sicher erst in dem Titel einer Schrift Melitos *περὶ κυριακῆς* (Eus. iv. 26. 2) und in den Leucianischen Apostelgeschichten."

φυλασσόντων τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀνὰ δύο δύο] The *κουστωδία* consists of eight men and the centurion. In Acts xii. 4 there are sixteen (*τέσσαρσιν τετραδίοις*), but eight of the whole number are required to guard the prisoner's person (6); here it is enough to provide two sentries at the door for each watch. *Ἀνὰ δύο δύο* is a mixture of two constructions, which is admitted by

μεγάλη φωνὴ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ εἶδον ἀνοιχθέντας τοὺς οὐρανοὺς καὶ δύο ἄνδρας κατελθόντας ἐκεῖθεν, πολὺ φέγγος ἔχοντας, καὶ ἐγγίσαντας τῷ τάφῳ. ὁ δὲ λίθος ἐκεῖνος ὁ βεβλημένος ἐπὶ τῇ θύρᾳ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ κυλισθεὶς ἐπεχώρησε παρὰ μέρος, καὶ ὁ τάφος ἠνοίγη καὶ ἀμφότεροι οἱ νεανίσκοι εἰσῆλθον. ἰδόντες οὖν οἱ στρατιῶται ἐκεῖνοι ἐξύπνισαν τὸν κεντυρίωνα καὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους, παρῆσαν γὰρ καὶ αὐτοὶ φυλάσσοντες· καὶ ἐξηγουμένων αὐτῶν ἃ εἶδον, πάλιν ὁρῶσιν ἐξελθόντας ἀπὸ τοῦ τάφου τρεῖς ἄνδρας, καὶ τοὺς δύο

1 *ανοιχθεντες* 2 *εκειθε* 4 *λειθος* | *εκειν*[*ος*] 5 *κυλ*[*ισθεις*] | *ἐπεχώρησε*] *ἀνεχώρησε* H., *ὑπεχώρησε* R., Z. | *ἠνοίγη*] *ενοιγη*: last syllable uncertain; the word may have been longer 6 *ιδ*[*οντες*] 7 *κ*[*εντυ*]|*ριωνα* 8 *αὐτοὶ*] The heliotype is indistinct: *αν οι* B., *αὐτοὶ* R., H., L., Z.; Redpath conjectures *ἄλλοι* 9 *ορασιν* 10 *εξελθοντες* | *ανδρες*

W. H. as a primary reading in Luke x. 1, where it stands in BK. It occurs also in *Acta Philipp.* 36 *βαδίζουσαι ἀνὰ δύο δύο.* *Κατὰ φρουράν* seems to = *κατὰ φυλακήν* 'for each watch of the night'; for *φρουρά* in this sense comp. Herodian. iii. 11.

1. **μεγάλη φωνὴ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ**] Apoc. xi. 15 *ἐγένοντο φωναὶ μεγάλαι.* xii. 10 *ἤκουσα φωνὴν μεγάλην ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.* The rest of the imagery is also apocalyptic: comp. Ezek. i. 1 *ἠνοίχθησαν οἱ οὐρανοί.* Apoc. xxi. 10, 11 *ἔδειξέν μοι τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἁγίαν..καταβαίνουσαν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἔχουσαν τὴν δόξαν τοῦ θεοῦ· ὁ φωστὴρ αὐτῆς κ.τ.λ.* *Πολὺ φέγγος ἔχοντας* may have formed the end of a hexameter in some Christian poem (cf. J. R. Harris, *Cod. Bez.* p. 49). For *δύο ἄνδρας* comp. Luke xxiv. 4 *ἰδοὺ ἄνδρες δύο ἐπέστησαν αὐταῖς* (the women). Mt. relates the descent, but limits it to one (*ἄγγελος γὰρ Κυρίου καταβὰς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ...ἦν δὲ ἡ εἰδέα αὐτοῦ ὡς ἀστραπή*). The two soldiers on guard find themselves suddenly confronted by two dazzling members of the *στρατιὰ οὐράνιος.*

3. **ὁ δὲ λίθος ἐκεῖνος κ.τ.λ.**] 'The stone above mentioned' (cf. *infra* *οἱ στρατιῶται ἐκεῖνοι.* xi. *τὸν σταυρωθέντα ἐκεῖνον.* Pet. *Apoc.* *τοῦ βορβόρου ἐκείνου*). In Mt. the Angel rolls away the stone, cf. Mk. (*ἀποκεκύλισται*), L. (*ἀποκεκυλισμένον*); P. represents it as moving of its own accord. Comp. Acts xii. 10 *τὴν πύλην τὴν σιδηρᾶν...ἥτις αὐτομάτη ἠνοίγη αὐτοῖς* (although an Angel is present to whom the task might have been assigned). *Ὁ τάφος ἠνοίγη*: cf. *infr.* c. xi. 29 *εὗρον τὸν τάφον ἠνεῳγμένον*, Matt. xxvii. 52 *τὰ μνημεῖα ἀνεῴχθησαν.* *Οἱ νεανίσκοι εἰσῆλθον*: comp. Mark xvi. 5 *εἰσελθοῦσαι εἰς τὸ μνημεῖον εἶδον νεανίσκον.*

8. **παρῆσαν γὰρ καὶ αὐτοὶ φυλάσσοντες**] *Sc.* *οἱ πρεσβύτεροι.* Comp. c. x. *τὸν τάφον ὃν ἐφύλασσον*, where, although *οἱ περὶ τὸν κεντυρίωνα* are named, the context shews that 'the Jews' are intended.

10. **τρεῖς ἄνδρας κ.τ.λ.**] They had seen two men enter. Comp. Dan. iii.

τὸν ἕνα ὑπορθοῦντας, καὶ σταυρὸν ἀκολουθοῦντα αὐτοῖς· καὶ τῶν μὲν δύο τὴν κεφαλὴν χωροῦσαν μέχρι

1 *ακολοθουντα*

24, 25. The Third is 'supported' by the two, but the support appears to be regarded as nominal only, since He is also said to be 'conducted' (*infra*, χειραγωγουμένου). The very rare word ὑπορθοῦν was used by Symm. in the phrase τὰ ὑπορθοῦντά με = אֲשֻׁרַי (Ps. xliii. 19, lxxii. 2). With this vision of the three, comp. the addition to Mark xvi. 3 in the O. L. cod. Bob. (*k*): "descenderunt de caelis angeli, et surgent[es] in claritate uiui dei simul ascenderunt cum eo." The *Ascension of Isaiah* describes a similar vision: "descensus angeli ecclesiae Christianae quae in caelis est et angeli (? angelus) Spiritus Sancti et Michaelis angeli (? Michael angelus), angelorum sanctorum, et ὅτι tertio die aperuit sepulchrum eius, et dilectus ille sedens super humeros seraphin exibit."

1. **καὶ σταυρὸν ἀκολουθοῦντα αὐτοῖς**] In *Ev. Nicod.* ii. 10 the penitent λῃστής appears in Paradise βαστάζων ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων αὐτοῦ καὶ σταυρόν. The Lord's Cross 'follows' Him, endued with a quasi-personality. See Didron, *Iconographie chrétienne*, p. 375 ff. "la croix est plus qu'une figure du Christ; elle est, en iconographie, le Christ lui-même ou son symbol"; and comp. his remarks on 'the Cross of the Resurrection,' *ib.* p. 393 ff. Comp. Zahn, *Acta Joannis*, p. 223 (*fragm.* 2) ὁ σταυρὸς ὁ τοῦ φωτὸς ποτὲ μὲν λόγος καλεῖται ὑπ' ἐμοῦ δι' ὑμᾶς, ποτὲ δὲ νοῦς, ποτὲ δὲ Χριστός, ποτὲ θύρα, ποτὲ ὁδός, ποτὲ ἄρτος, ποτὲ σπόρος, ποτὲ ἀνάστασις, ποτὲ Ἰησοῦς, ποτὲ πατήρ, ποτὲ πνεῦμα, ποτὲ ζωή, ποτὲ ἀλήθεια, ποτὲ χάρις. Malan, *Conflicts of the Apostles*, p. 9: St Peter going up to the cross on which he is to suffer addresses it thus: "In the name of the Cross, the hidden mystery, the grace ineffable.. Jesus Christ.. is the Tree of the Cross, the cleansing of men," &c. The acrostics in the Sibylline Oracles, viii. 217 ff., where thirty-four lines begin with the consecutive letters of Ἰησοῦς Χρειστὸς θεοῦ υἱὸς σωτὴρ σταυρός, indicate a similar identification of the Cross with the Crucified. It is noteworthy that in quoting the passage Augustine (*civit. Dei* xviii. 23) excludes the σταυρός lines. They run as follows:

Σῆμα δέ τοι τότε πᾶσι βροτοῖς σφρηγὶς ἐπίσημος,
Τὸ ξύλον ἐν πιστοῖς, τὸ κέρας τὸ ποθούμενον ἔσται,
Ἀνδρῶν εὐσεβέων ζωή, πρόσκομμα δὲ κόσμου,
Ὕδατι φωτίζον κλητοὺς ἐν δώδεκα πηγαῖς·
Ῥάβδος ποιμαίνουσα σιδηρείη γε κρατήσει.
Οὗτος ὁ νῦν προγραφεὶς ἐν ἀκροστιχίοις θεοσήμοις
Σωτὴρ ἀθάνατος βασιλεύς, ὁ παθὼν ἕνεχ' ἡμῶν.

The Valentinian schools used Σταυρός as a synonym for Ὅρος, the limit of the πλήρωμα: Iren. i. 3. 5. Hippol. vi. 31. Clem. Alex. *exc.* § 42.

2. **καὶ τῶν μὲν δύο τὴν κεφαλὴν κ.τ.λ.**] The colossal stature assigned to the two Angels finds some precedent in Apoc. x. 1, 2; comp. *Anaph. Pilati* (A) 9 ἄνδρες ἐφαίνοντο ὑψηλοί. For the supereminent height ascribed to our Lord comp. Phot. *bibl.* cod. 114 λέγει δὲ μηδ' ἐνανθρωπῆσαι ἀληθῶς ἀλλὰ δόξῃ (edd. δόξαι) καὶ πολλὰ πολλάκις φανῆναι τοῖς μαθηταῖς . . καὶ μείζονα καὶ ἐλάττονα καὶ μέγιστον, ὥστε τὴν κορυφὴν διήκειν ἔσθ' ὅτε μέ-

τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, τοῦ δὲ χειραγωγουμένου ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὑπερβαίνουσαν τοὺς οὐρανούς. καὶ φωνῆς ἤκουον ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν λεγούσης Ἐκήρυξας τοῖς κοιμωμένοις· *καὶ ὑπακοὴ ἠκούετο ἀπὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ [ὅ]τι* Ναί.

1 *χειρατωτουμενου*: *χειραγωγ.* R., H., Z. 2 *φωνη* 3 *κοινωμενοις*: *κοιμωμένοις*; R., Z., *κοιμωμένοις*. L. 3—4 *καὶ ὑπακοὴ*] *ὑπακοήν*; *καὶ* H. 4 *ὅτι* Ναί] *τιναι* appears in the heliotype: *ὅτι ναί* R., H., L., Z.; I had conjectured *τὸ* Ναί

χρις οὐρανοῦ. Similarly in Hermas, *sim.* ix. 6, the man who is afterwards identified with the Son of God is *ὑψηλὸς τῷ μεγέθει ὥστε τὸν πύργον ὑπερέχειν*. Hilgenfeld (on Hermas *l. c.*) adduces 4 Esdr. ii. 43 "in medio eorum erat iuuenis statura celsus eminentior omnibus illis . . et dixi angelo Ille iuuenis, quis est? . . et respondens dixit mihi Ipse est filius Dei." Comp. the description of the angel from whom the Book of Elkesai purported to be a revelation, and who was said to be the Son of God (Hipp. ix. 13).

Dr C. Taylor (*Hermas and the Fourth Gospel*, p. 78) refers to Gen. xxviii. 12 [John i. 51], and compares the Talmudic first Adam. Streane, *Chagigah*, p. 58 "R. El'azar said, The first man extended from the earth to the firmament...and inasmuch as he sinned, the Holy One . . placed His hand upon him and made him small." The Sinless Man would reassume the proportions of the progenitor of the race. Χειραγωγεῖν occurs in Acts ix. 8, xxii. 11 (in reference to Saul).

2. **καὶ φωνῆς ἤκουον κ.τ.λ.**] Comp. p. 17, l. 1. This second voice from Heaven is audible: John xii. 28, 29, 2 Pet. i. 17, 18. *Ἐκήρυξας τοῖς κοιμωμένοις* is probably not a question addressed to the Cross, but the revelation of a fact. It is natural to compare 1 Pet. iii. 18 *θανατωθεὶς μὲν σαρκὶ ζωοποιηθεὶς δὲ πνεύματι· ἐν ᾧ καὶ τοῖς ἐν φυλακῇ πνεύμασιν πορευθεὶς ἐκήρυξεν*: *ib.* iv. 6 *καὶ νεκροῖς εὐηγγελίσθη*. *Κοιμωμένοις* was perhaps suggested by *τῶν κεκοιμημένων ἁγίων* in Matt. xxvii. 52; the resurrection of 'the Saints that slept' is regarded by Euseb. *d. e.* 500 as a result of the Descent:—for the pres. part. comp. 1 Thess. iv. 13 *περὶ τῶν κοιμωμένων* (so ℵBA &c.). For early references to the Preaching in Hades see Bp Lightfoot's note on Ign. *Magn.* 9; an apocryphal prophecy quoted by Justin (*dial.* 72) and by Irenaeus (iii. 20. 4 and elsewhere), and attributed to Jeremiah or Isaiah, is of special interest in this connexion: *ἐμνήσθη δὲ Κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἀπὸ* [*v. l.* *ἅγιος*] *Ἰσραὴλ τῶν νεκρῶν αὐτοῦ τῶν κεκοιμημένων εἰς γῆν χώματος* [cf. Dan. xii. 2], *καὶ κατέβη πρὸς αὐτοὺς εὐαγγελίσασθαι αὐτοῖς τὸ σωτήριον αὐτοῦ*.

4. **ὑπακοὴ ἠκούετο κ.τ.λ.**] For *ὑπακοή*, a response or refrain, comp. Method. *conviv. x virg.* 208 c *τὴν Θέκλαν . ἔφη . . κοσμίως ψάλλειν· τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς ἐν κύκλῳ καθάπερ ἐν χοροῦ σχήματι συστάσας ὑπακούειν αὐτῇ*— after which the *ὑπακοή* follows at intervals. The verb is used in a similar sense in earlier Christian literature; comp. Zahn, *A. J.*, p. 220 *ἡμεῖς κυκλεύοντες ὑπηκούσαμεν αὐτῷ τὸ Ἀμήν*. *Mart. Barth.* 7 *ὑπήκουσαν τὸ Ἀμήν*. *Dorm. Mariae* 44 *ὑπήκουσαν τὸ Ἀλληλουία*. See also Malan, *Conflicts of the Apostles*, p. 9. Harnack corrects *ὑπακοήν*, and punctuates *ἐκήρυξας τοῖς κοιμ. ὑπακοήν*; *καὶ ἠκούετο κ.τ.λ.*, supposing Peter to refer to 1 Pet. iii. 19. But a change is unnecessary, and the allusion improbable.

X. *Συνεσκέπτοντο οὖν ἀλλήλοις ἐκεῖνοι ἀπελθεῖν καὶ ἐνφανίσαι ταῦτα τῷ Πειλάτῳ. καὶ ἔτι διανοουμένων αὐτῶν φαίνονται πάλιν ἀνοιχθέντες οἱ οὐρανοὶ καὶ ἄνθρωπός τις κατελθὼν καὶ εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὸ μνῆμα. ταῦτα ἰδόντες οἱ περὶ τὸν κεντυρίωνα νυκτὸς ἔσπευσαν πρὸς Πειλᾶτον, ἀφέντες τὸν τάφον ὃν ἐφύλασσον, καὶ ἐξηγήσαντο πάντα ἅπερ εἶδον, ἀγωνιῶντες μεγάλως καὶ λέγοντες Ἀληθῶς υἱὸς ἦν θεοῦ. ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ Πειλᾶτος ἔφη Ἐγὼ καθαρεύω τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ*

4 *κατελθον* 5 *κεντυρωνα* 7 *ἀγωνιῶντες*] *απανιωντες*: *ἀγων.* R., H., L., Z.

Ὅτι Ναί is printed above as nearer to the MS. than τὸ Ναί which I had previously given. The *Classical Review* (vii. 1—2, p. 42) quotes a parallel from Lord Bute's *Coptic Morning Service*; at the kiss of peace in the liturgy, in answer to the deacon's exhortation Ἀσπάζεσθε ἀλλήλους ἐν φιλήματι ἁγίῳ, the congregation answer Κύριε, ἐλέησον (thrice)· ναί, Κύριε. A similar response occurs in the *Acta Joannis*, p. 239. Comp. also 2 Cor. i. 20 ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ Ναί· διὸ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ τὸ Ἀμήν. The whole sentence suggests that the preceding words ἐκήρυξας κ.τ.λ. belong to a hymn or other liturgical form.

1. **συνεσκέπτοντο οὖν ἀλλήλοις κ.τ.λ.**] Ps. ii. 2 Symm. ὕπαρχοι συνεσκέπτοντο ὁμοθυμαδόν. For ἐνφανίζειν, 'to make an official report,' comp. Acts xxiii. 15, 22, xxiv. 1, xxv. 2, 15.

3. **πάλιν.. ἄνθρωπός τις κατελθὼν**] Peter distinguishes between the descent of the two Angels (ἄνδρες δύο, Luke xxiv. 4, δύο ἀγγέλους, John xx. 12) and the descent of the one (ἄγγελος Κυρίου καταβάς, Matt. xxviii. 2, νεανίσκον, Mark xvi. 5). The incidents are distinguished by Tatian also, but he places them in the reverse order. For εἰσελθών, see above on c. ix.

5. **οἱ περὶ τὸν κεντυρίωνα**] *Sc.* οἱ πρεσβύτεροι or οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, not the soldiers; comp. *infr.* ὑμῖν δὲ τοῦτο ἔδοξεν. Up to this time they had not left the tomb (ἐφύλασσον, cf. c. ix.). Ἐξηγήσαντο, comp. Luke xxiv. 35, Acts x. 8, &c. Ἀγωνιῶντες, cf. c. v.

Ἀληθῶς υἱὸς ἦν θεοῦ is the confession of the Centurion at the Cross and his soldiers (οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ) in Mt., Mk. (ἀληθῶς θεοῦ υἱὸς ἦν οὗτος = ἀληθῶς οὗτος ὁ ἄνθρωπος υἱὸς θεοῦ ἦν). Ephraim, probably referring to Tatian, connects the words with the remorse of the crowd (*uae fuit, uae fuit nobis, filius Dei erat hic*); to the crowd Peter has already assigned St Luke's version of them.

8. **ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ Πειλᾶτος ἔφη κ.τ.λ.**] Comp. Matt. xxvii. 24. In Peter the words possibly did not accompany the symbolic washing, but were reserved for this later juncture. Ἀθῷός εἰμι ἀπό has been replaced by the classical καθαρεύω: τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ echoes back the confession of the Jews, but answers to τοῦ δικαίου τούτου which probably stood in the text of Mt. known to Peter; comp. Ciasca, *Tatian*, p. 90. Ὑμεῖς ὄψεσθε, which could not stand in the altered position of the words, is represented by ὑμῖν δὲ τοῦτο ἔδοξε—'the sentence was yours, not mine': comp. Matt. xxvi. 66 τί ὑμῖν δοκεῖ;

υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὑμῖν δὲ τοῦτο ἔδοξεν. εἶτα προσελθόντες πάντες ἐδέοντο αὐτοῦ καὶ παρεκάλουν κελεῦσαι τῷ κεντυρίωνι καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις μηδὲν εἰπεῖν ἃ εἶδον· συμφέρει γάρ, φασίν, ἡμῖν ὀφλῆσαι μεγίστην ἁμαρτίαν ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ μὴ ἐμπεσεῖν εἰς χεῖρας τοῦ λαοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ λιθασθῆναι. ἐκέλευσεν οὖν ὁ Πειλᾶτος τῷ κεντυρίωνι καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις μηδὲν εἰπεῖν.

XI. *Ὄρθρου δὲ τῆς κυριακῆς Μαριὰμ ἡ Μαγδαληνή, μαθήτρια τοῦ κυρίου (φοβουμένη διὰ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, ἐπειδὴ ἐφλέγοντο ὑπὸ τῆς ὀργῆς, οὐκ ἐποίησεν ἐπὶ τῷ μνήματι τοῦ κυρίου ἃ εἰώθεσαν ποιεῖν αἱ γυναῖκες ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀποθνήσκουσι καὶ τοῖς ἀγαπωμένοις αὐταῖς),*

1 *ημιν* 2 *καιπερ εκαλουν* 3 *τω κεντωριων* | *μηδὲν*] *μηδενὶ* Z. | *ἃ*] *ὧν* Blass 7 *των κεντυριων* 9 *ορθου* | Μαριαμ' | Μαγδαλινη 10 [*ἥτις*] *φοβ.* R. 12 *ποιεν*

For *μηδέν* it has been proposed to read *μηδενί*, but the change is perhaps unnecessary.

4. **συμφέρει γάρ, φασίν, ἡμῖν κ.τ.λ.**] For the construction comp. Matt. v. 29 *συμφέρει γάρ σοι ἵνα ἀπόληται ἓν τῶν μελῶν σου καὶ μὴ ὅλον τὸ σῶμα βληθῇ εἰς γέενναν.* John xi. 50 *συμφέρει ὑμῖν ἵνα εἷς ἄνθρωπος ἀποθάνῃ.. καὶ μὴ ὅλον τὸ ἔθνος ἀπόληται* (cp. xviii. 14). But Peter can hardly mean to charge the Jews with the impiety of regarding a violent death as a greater evil than the extreme displeasure of God. Probably, as Harnack suggests, he forgets that he has begun with *συμφέρει*, and intends to say 'to have incurred a grievous sin is enough, without being stoned besides' (*das Eine ist schon genug Strafe*). For *ἐμπεσεῖν εἰς χεῖρας* comp. Heb. x. 31, and for the fear expressed by the Jewish leaders, Acts v. 26, *ἐφοβοῦντο γὰρ τὸν λαὸν μὴ λιθασθῶσιν.*

9. **ὄρθρου δὲ τῆς κυριακῆς κ.τ.λ.**] Luke xxiv. 1 *τῇ δὲ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων ὄρθρου βαθέως ἐπὶ τὸ μνῆμα ἦλθαν*: *ib.* 22 *γενόμεναι ὀρθριναὶ ἐπὶ τὸ μνημεῖον.*

For *τ. κυριακῆς* see note on p. 16, l. 5.

The form *Μαριάμ* is well supported in John xx. 16, 18 and is the reading of ℵC in Matt. xxviii. 1. The N. T. has *μαθήτρια* only in Acts ix. 36. In Coptic Gnostic literature (*Pistis Sophia*, *Second Book of Jeû*), the *μαθήτριαι* correspond to the *μαθηταί* = *ἀπόστολοι*, and are headed by Mary Magdalene (Schmidt, *Gnostische Schriften*, p. 452).

10. **φοβουμένη...αὐταῖς**] The sentence is overweighted, and has fallen into grammatical confusion. I have followed Harnack's example in the provisional use of brackets, which makes it possible to construe without emending the text. For *φλέγεσθαι ὑπὸ τῆς ὀργῆς* comp. *φλ. ὑπὸ τῆς φιλοτιμίας*, Dion. Chrys. i. p. 158. The phrase is not in the N. T., but belongs to the literary style which Peter partly

λαβοῦσα μεθ' ἑαυτῆς τὰς φίλας ἦλθε ἐπὶ τὸ μνημεῖον ὅπου ἦν τεθείς. καὶ ἐφοβοῦντο μὴ ἴδωσιν αὐτὰς οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, καὶ ἔλεγον Εἰ καὶ μὴ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ᾗ ἐσταυρώθη ἐδυνήθημεν κλαῦσαι καὶ κόψασθαι, καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ τοῦ μνήματος αὐτοῦ ποιήσωμεν ταῦτα. τίς δὲ ἀποκυλίσει ἡμῖν καὶ τὸν λίθον τὸν τεθέντα ἐπὶ τῆς θύρας τοῦ μνημείου, ἵνα εἰσελθοῦσαι παρακαθεσθῶμεν αὐτῷ καὶ ποιήσωμεν τὰ ὀφειλόμενα; μέγας γὰρ ἦν ὁ λίθος, καὶ φοβούμεθα μή τις ἡμᾶς ἴδῃ. καὶ εἰ μὴ δυνάμεθα, κἂν ἐπὶ τῆς θύρας βάλωμεν ἃ φέρομεν εἰς μνημοσύνην αὐτοῦ, κλαύσομεν καὶ κοψόμεθα ἕως ἔλθωμεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον ἡμῶν. καὶ ἀπελθοῦσαι εὗρον τὸν τάφον ἠνεῳ-

4 κοψεσθαι | καὶ] κἂν H., Z. (after Blass). 8 οφιλομενα 11 κλαύσωμεν καὶ κοψώμεθα R., H., Z. 12 εὗρον] συρον

adopts. In καὶ τοῖς ἀγαπ. either καὶ or τοῖς is superfluous. Ἀγαπ. may allude to Zech. xii. 10 κόψονται . . ὡς ἐπ' ἀγαπητῷ. Τὰς φίλας: the Gospels mention Μαρία ἡ Ἰακώβου, Σαλώμη, Ἰωάνα; and there were others who are not named (L., αἱ λοιπαὶ σὺν αὐταῖς). In the Fourth Gospel Mary Magdalene seems to be alone. Ὅπου ἦν τεθείς: comp. Luke xxiii. 55 ἐθεάσαντο τὸ μνημεῖον, καὶ ὡς ἐτέθη τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ. Peter stands alone in suggesting that fear had prevented the women from ministering at the tomb before the morning of Easter day; in the Synoptic Gospels they return from the Burial to keep the legal Sabbath-rest (Luke xxiii. 56), and after the Sabbath is over they are busy with preparations for their work (Mark xvi. 1, Luke xxiv. 1).

2. **καὶ ἐφοβοῦντο μὴ ἴδωσιν αὐτὰς κ.τ.λ.**] This seems to be an inference from ὄρθρου βαθέως—they came at break of day before sunrise, in order to escape observation; cf. *infra*, l. 9. The canonical Gospels again are silent as to the motive of fear; the early visit to the tomb which they report might have been prompted by eager devotion. For κλαῦσαι καὶ κόψασθαι comp. Luke viii. 52 ἔκλαιον δὲ πάντες καὶ ἐκόπτοντο αὐτήν. Apoc. xviii. 9; *infra*, l. 11.

5. **τίς δὲ ἀποκυλίσει κ.τ.λ.**] Mark xvi. 3 τίς ἀποκυλίσει ἡμῖν τὸν λίθον ἐκ τῆς θύρας τοῦ μνημείου; Εἰσελθοῦσαι occurs in Mk. xvi. 5 (ℵACD). Παρακαθεσθῶμεν is perhaps suggested by Luke x. 39 παρακαθισθεῖσα πρὸς τοὺς πόδας τοῦ κυρίου: comp. also John xx. 12 θεωρεῖ δύο ἀγγέλους . . καθεζομένους . . ὅπου ἔκειτο τὸ σῶμα. Μέγας γὰρ ἦν ὁ λίθος: comp. Mk. xvi. 4 ἦν γὰρ μέγας σφόδρα.

9. **καὶ εἰ μὴ δύναμεθα κ.τ.λ.**] 'If we cannot execute our mission within the tomb, we will bewail Him on the way home; we shall not be content with placing our offerings at the door.' Ἃ φέρομεν = ἃ ἡτοίμασαν ἀρώματα (L.). For μνημοσύνη the LXX. and N. T. use μνημόσυνον (*e.g.* Matt. xxvi. 13).

12. **εὗρον τὸν τάφον ἠνεῳγμένον κ.τ.λ.**] Luke xxiv. 2 εὗρον τὸν λίθον

γμένον· καὶ προσελθοῦσαι παρέκυψαν ἐκεῖ, καὶ ὁρῶσιν ἐκεῖ τινα νεανίσκον καθεζόμενον μέσῳ τοῦ τάφου, ὡραῖον καὶ περιβεβλημένον στολὴν λαμπροτάτην, ὅστις ἔφη αὐταῖς Τί ἤλθατε; τίνα ζητεῖτε; μὴ τὸν σταυρωθέντα ἐκεῖνον; ἀνέστη καὶ ἀπῆλθεν· εἰ δὲ μὴ πιστεύετε, παρακύψατε καὶ ἴδατε τὸν τόπον ἔνθα ἔκειτο, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν· ἀνέστη γὰρ καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ἐκεῖ ὅθεν ἀπεστάλη. τότε αἱ γυναῖκες φοβηθεῖσαι ἔφυγον.

XII. *Ἦν δὲ τελευταία ἡμέρα τῶν ἀζύμων, καὶ*

2 *ἐν μέσῳ* H., Z. 3—4 *αυταιοτι* 5 *πιστευεται* 6 *εκει*^το 8 *φοβηθεισεφυγον*

ἀποκεκυλισμένον. Matt. xxvii. 52 *τὰ μνημεῖα ἀνεῴχθησαν.* *Παρέκυψαν*: John xx. 11 *Μαρία . . παρέκυψεν εἰς τὸ μνημεῖον*: comp. 1 Pet. i. 12 *εἰς ὃ ἐπιθυμοῦσιν ἄγγελοι παρακύψαι.* *Ὁρῶσιν ...λαμπροτάτην*: Mark xvi. 5 *εἶδον νεανίσκον καθήμενον . . περιβεβλημένον στολὴν λαμπράν.*

4. **Τί ἤλθατε κ.τ.λ.**] Matt. xxviii. 5 ff. *τὸν ἐσταυρωμένον ζητεῖτε· οὐκ ἔστιν ὧδε· ἠγέρθη γάρ . . ἴδετε τὸν τόπον ὅπου ἔκειτο.* Comp. with Peter's version of the Angel's words *Ev. Nicod.* i. (B) 13 *οὐκ ἔστιν ὧδε ἀλλὰ ἀνέστη· κύψατε καὶ ἴδετε τὸν τάφον ὅπου ἔκειτο τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ.* The omission of *ὧδε* in Peter finds a parallel in the S. Germain MS. g^2 (*non est, surrexit*, Luke xxiv. 4). *Ἀνέστη* may have been (as Dr Taylor points out) suggested by Mark xvi. 9 (*ἀναστὰς δὲ πρωῒ πρώτῃ σαββάτου ἐφάνη πρῶτον Μαρίᾳ τῇ Μαγδαλήνῃ*). For *παρακύψατε* see last note.

7. **ἀπῆλθεν ἐκεῖ ὅθεν ἀπεστάλη**] Mt., Mk., have *προάγει ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν· ἐκεῖ αὐτὸν ὄψεσθε.* *Ἀπῆλθεν* in Peter seems to look back either to *ἀνελήφθη* (c. v.); comp. *Constitutions* viii. 1 *ἀνελήφθη πρὸς τὸν ἀποστείλαντα αὐτόν*); or to the exit from the tomb described in c. ix. For *ἀπεστάλη* see Matt. x. 40, xv. 24, &c., and esp. John xvi. 5, xx. 21. In Aphraates *hom.* 22 (cited by Prof. Robinson, *Peter*, p. 29 n.), ed. Wright, p. ܫܦܗ, a similar saying is ascribed to the Angel at the tomb:

ܡܠܐܟܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܠܡܪܝܡ ܕܩܡ ܠܗ ܘܐܙܠ ܠܘܬ ܡܢ ܕܫܕܪܗ. The words are not in the Arabic Tatian or in Ephraim's commentary, but may have stood, as has been suggested, in the original Diatessaron on which "the first 22 homilies [of Aphraates] are based" (J. R. Harris, *Tatian*, p. 19). Cf. Cyril. *catech.* xiii. 41 *τὸν ἀποσταλέντα κύριον .. τὸν ἀποστείλαντα πατέρα θεόν.*

αἱ γυναῖκες φοβηθεῖσαι ἔφυγον] Mark xvi. 8 *ἔφυγον ἀπὸ τοῦ μνημείου . . ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ.* Mt. represents the fear of the women as mixed with joy (*μετὰ φόβου καὶ χαρᾶς μεγάλης*).

9. **ἦν δὲ τελευταία ἡμέρα τῶν ἀζύμων**] If Peter is following Jewish reckoning, he passes abruptly from Easter day to the Friday in Easter week (Nisan 21). M. Lods however suggests (p. 21) that Peter has here transferred Christian ideas to the Jewish feast, and has called Easter-day

V. Now it was midday, and darkness overspread all Judea; and they were troubled and distressed lest the sun had set, inasmuch as He was yet alive; it is written for them that the sun set not on one that hath died by violence. And one of them said, Give Him gall to drink with vinegar; and they mixed and gave Him to drink. So they accomplished all things, and filled up their sins upon their head. And many went about with lamps, supposing that it was night; and some fell. And the Lord cried aloud, saying, My power, my power, thou hast left Me; and having said this He was taken up. And the same hour the veil of the temple of Jerusalem was torn in twain.

VI. And then they drew the nails from the hands of the Lord, and laid Him upon the earth; and the whole earth was shaken, and great fear came upon them. Then the sun shone out, and it was found to be the ninth hour. But the Jews rejoiced, and they gave His body to Joseph to bury it, inasmuch as he beheld all the good things that He did. So he took the Lord and washed Him, and wrapped Him in linen and brought Him into his own tomb, called Joseph's Garden.

VII. Then the Jews and the elders and the priests, knowing what evil they had done to themselves, began to bewail and say, Woe to our sins! the judgement is at hand, and the end of Jerusalem. And I with my fellows was in sorrow, and being wounded at heart we hid ourselves, for we were sought for by them as malefactors and as minded to burn the temple; and besides all this, we were fasting, and we sat mourning and weeping night and day until the Sabbath.

VIII. But the Scribes and Pharisees and elders, being assembled together and hearing that the whole people murmured and beat their breasts, saying, If these exceeding great signs were wrought at His death, see how righteous He was—the elders were afraid and came to Pilate, beseeching him and saying, Deliver to us soldiers, that we may guard His sepulchre for three days, lest His disciples come and steal Him away, and the people suppose that He is risen from the dead, and do us mischief. So Pilate delivered unto them Petronius the centurion with soldiers to guard the tomb; and with them there came elders and scribes to the sepulchre, and having rolled a great stone against the centurion and the soldiers, all who were there together placed it at the door of the sepulchre; and they spread upon it seven seals, and pitched a tent there and kept guard. Now when it was morning, at the dawning of the Sabbath, there came a crowd from Jerusalem and the country round about to see the sepulchre, how it had been sealed.

IX. Now on the night when the Lord's Day was drawing on, as the soldiers kept guard by two and two in a watch, there was a great

voice in heaven, and they saw the heavens opened, and two men descend from thence with much light and draw nigh unto the tomb. And the stone which had been cast at the door rolled away of itself and made way in part, and the tomb was opened, and both the young men entered in. The soldiers, therefore, when they saw it, awakened the centurion and the elders (for they were also there keeping watch); and as they told the things that they had seen, again they see three men coming forth from the tomb, two of them supporting the other, and a cross following them; and the head of the two reached to heaven, but that of Him who was led by them overpassed the heavens. And they heard a voice from the heavens, saying, Thou didst preach to them that sleep; and a response was heard from the cross, Yea.

X. They took counsel therefore with one another to go and shew these things unto Pilate. And while they yet thought on this, the heavens again appeared to open, and a man descended and entered into the sepulchre. When they saw this, they of the centurion's company hastened by night to Pilate, leaving the tomb which they were guarding, and told all that they had seen, greatly distressed and saying, Truly He was the Son of God. Pilate answered and said, I am clean from the blood of the Son of God, but this was your pleasure. Then they all came near and besought him, and entreated him to command the centurion and the soldiers to say nothing as to the things which they had seen; for it is expedient for us (they said) to be guilty of a very great sin before God, and not to fall into the hands of the people of the Jews and be stoned. Pilate therefore commanded the centurion and the soldiers to say nothing.

XI. Now at dawn on the Lord's Day Mary Magdalene, a female disciple of the Lord—afraid by reason of the Jews, forasmuch as they were inflamed with wrath, she had not done at the sepulchre of the Lord what women are wont to do for those who die and who are dear to them—took with her her female friends, and came to the sepulchre where He was laid. And they feared lest the Jews should see them, and they said, Although we could not weep and bewail Him on the day when He was crucified, let us do so now at His sepulchre. But who shall roll us away the stone which was laid at the door of the sepulchre, that we may enter in and sit by Him, and do the things that are due? for the stone was great, and we fear lest any man see us. And if we cannot, even though we should cast at the door the things which we bring for a memorial of Him, we will weep and bewail Him until we come to our house. So they went and found the tomb open, and they came near and stooped down to look in there; and they see there

a young man sitting in the midst of the tomb, fair and clothed with a robe exceeding bright, who said to them, Wherefore are ye come? whom seek ye? Him Who was crucified? He is risen and gone. But if ye believe not, stoop down and look in, and see the place where He lay, that He is not here; for He is risen and gone thither from whence He was sent. Then the women fled affrighted.

XII. Now it was the last day of unleavened bread, and many went out of the city returning to their houses, the feast being at an end. And we the twelve disciples of the Lord wept and were in sorrow, and every man withdrew to his house sorrowing for that which had come to pass. But I Simon Peter and Andrew my brother took our nets and went to the sea; and there was with us Levi the son of Alphaeus whom the Lord * * *

I.

INDEX OF GREEK WORDS USED IN THE FRAGMENT.

An asterisk is prefixed to words not used, or used only in another sense, by N.T. writers; a dagger to N.T. words which are not found in the Gospels; forms entirely new are denoted by uncial type. The list is not exhaustive; common words, with no special interest attaching to their use, have not been registered.

II.

INDEX OF SUBJECT-MATTER.

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